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# THE METHOD OF TEACHING and STUDYING THE BELLES LETTRES;

OR

An Introduction to LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORICK, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICKS, &c.

WITH

REFLECTIONS on TASTE;

AND

INSTRUCTIONS with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

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By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

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# PART the THIRD.

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### The Third Piece of Roman Hiſtory.

*The ſpace of three and fifty years, from the beginning of the ſecond Punick War to the defeat of Perſeus.*

FOR the third portion of Roman hiſtory, I take that term, which Polybius choſe for the ſubject of his performance; I mean, the three and fifty years which paſſed from the beginning of the ſecond Punick war to the end of the Macedonian, which concluded with the overthrow and captivity of Perſeus, and the deſtruction of his kingdom.

Polybius looks upon this interval as the moſt flouriſhing age of the Roman republick, an age which produced the greateſt men, and diſplayed the moſt ſhining virtues, in which the greateſt and moſt important events happened, and in a word, wherein the Romans began to enter upon the poſſeſſion of that vaſt empire, which afterwards included almoſt every part of the then known world, and by a continual and very ſwift progreſs arrived at that degree of grandeur and power, which has made it the admiration of the whole univerſe.

Now, as the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empi was, according to Polybius, the moſt wonderf work of divine Providence, and could not be regar ed as the effect of chance and a blind fortune, but the conſequence of a pre-concerted deſign, concert with weight and meaſure, and conducted by an i fallible wiſdom, is it not, as the ſame author farth obſerves, a very commendable curioſity, and worth the beſt underſtanding, to enquire what was t time, what the preparatives, what the means, an who the inſtruments, in carrying on ſo glorious an noble an enterprize to its execution?

Polybius, who is the moſt judicious hiſtorian ex tant, and was himſelf a great ſoldier and politician, ha ſhewn this at large in the hiſtory he wrote, of whic the ſmall remains we have give us great reaſon t lament the loſs of the reſt. This I alſo ſhall endea vour to trace in this piece of the Roman hiſtory though very briefly: I intend, however, to introduc into my diſcourſe what I ſhall judge moſt beautifu in Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, which are the ori ginals from whence I ſhall extract the beſt part o what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, with referenc either to the facts themſelves, or the reflections ſhall make upon them.

## CHAP. I.

### *A narrative of the facts.*

I Shall begin with relating the principal event which fell out in the time I am ſpeaking of, tha I may thereby give ſuch of my readers, as are un acquainted with this branch of hiſtory, ſome ſligh idea of it.

[a] Polyb. lib. I.

### *The beginning of the ſecond Punick war and the ſucceſſes of Hannibal.*

[b] The beginning of the ſecond Punick war, if we look only upon the date of time, was the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal, and the irruption he made into the country ſituate beyond the Ebro, which was allied to the people of Rome; but the real cauſe of it was the indignation of the Carthaginians at ſeeing themſelves deprived of Sicily and Sardinia by treaties, which the ſole neceſſity of the time and the ill condition of their affairs had extorted from them. The ſudden death of Hamilcar hindered him from executing the deſign he had long been forming of taking revenge for theſe injuries. His ſon Hannibal, whom he had obliged to ſwear upon the altar, whilſt yet but nine years old, that he would declare himſelf an enemy to the Romans as ſoon as he came to the age of doing it, entered into all his views, and inherited his hatred for the Romans as well as his valour. He made very diſtant preparations for this great deſign, and when he thought himſelf in a condition to execute it, he opened it with the ſiege of Saguntum. And whether it was through idleneſs and negligence, or through prudence and wiſdom, the Romans ſpent the time in different embaſſies, and left Hannibal an opportunity of taking the town.

[c] And for his part, he well know how to make the beſt uſe of it. After he had ſettled all things to his mind, he left his brother Aſdrubal in Spain to defend the country, and ſet out for Italy with an army of ninety thouſand foot, and ten or twelve thouſand horſe. There was no obſtacle great enough to diſcourage him, or ſtop his march. The Pyrenæan mountains, the croſſing of the Rhone, a long march through Gaul, and the very difficult paſſage of the

[b] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 1—20. [c] Ib. n. 21—38.

Alps, all gave way before his zeal and indefatigable reſolution. Conqueror over the Alps, and in a manner over nature itſelf, he entered Italy, which he had reſolved to make the theatre of the war. His troops were extremely leſſened in their numbers, amounting to no more than twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, but were full of confidence and courage.

A rapidity ſo inconceiveable aſtoniſhed the Romans, and broke all their meaſures. They had determined to carry the war abroad, and that one of their conſuls ſhould make head againſt Hannibal in Spain, whilſt the other ſhould march directly into Africa to lay ſiege to Carthage. But they were now obliged to lay aſide theſe projects, and think of defending their own country. Publius Scipio the conſul, who thought Hannibal ſtill in the Pyrenæan mountains, when he had actually paſſed the Rhone, not being able to come up with him, was under a neceſſity of returning back from whence he came, to wait for, and fall upon him at his deſcent from the Alps, and in the mean while ſent Cneius Scipio his brother into Spain againſt Aſdrubal.

[d] The firſt engagement was not far from the little river of Teſinus. The ſpeeches of the two generals to their armies are very fine. Livy has copied them from Polybius, but in a maſterly way, by throwing in ſuch ſtrokes as make the copy equal to the original. The Carthaginians gained the victory. The Roman conſul was wounded in the battle; [e] and his ſon, who was then ſcarce ſeventeen years old, ſaved his life. This was he, who afterwards conquered Hannibal, and was ſurnamed Africanus.

[f] Upon the firſt news of this defeat, Sempronius the other conſul, who was in Sicily, marched preſently by order of the ſenate to the aſſiſtance of his col-

[d] Ib n. 33 — 48.

[e] Neque illum ætatis infirmitas interpellare valuit, quo minus duplici gloriâ conſpicuam coronam, imperatore ſimul & patre ex ipſa morte rapto, mereretur. Val. Max. lib. v. c. 2.

[f] Ib. n. 51—56.

legue,

legue, who was not yet well recovered of his wounds. That was his reaſon for haſtening a battle, againſt the opinion of Scipio, in hopes of engroſſing the whole glory of it to himſelf. Hannibal, who had good intelligence of all that paſſed in the Roman camp, having ſuffered Sempronius to gain ſome ſlight advantage in order to improve his temerity, gave him an opportunity of coming to a battle near the river of Trebia. He had placed his brother Mago in ambuſcade in a very favourable poſt, and cauſed his army to uſe all neceſſary precaution againſt the famine and cold, which was then extreme. The Romans had been very negligent of either, and for that reaſon were ſoon overthrown, and put to flight; and Mago iſſuing from the place where he lay in ambuſh, made a great ſlaughter of them.

[g] Hannibal, to make the beſt uſe of his time and firſt victories, kept continually advancing, and approached every day nearer the centre of Italy. [h] But to come up the more ſpeedily with the enemy, he was under the neceſſity of paſſing through a moraſs, where his army ſuſtained incredible fatigues, and he loſt an eye. Flaminius, one of the late nominated conſuls, had left Rome without obſerving the uſual omens. [i] He was a vain, raſh, enterprizing man, full of himſelf, and whoſe natural haughtineſs was increaſed by the good ſucceſs of his firſt conſulſhip, and the declared favour of the people. It was plain enough, that as he neither conſulted the Gods nor men, he would naturally abandon himſelf to the warmth and impetuoſity of his genius; and Hannibal, to prompt that diſpoſition, did not fail to irritate

[g] Ib. n. 57—59, & 63.

[h] Lib. xxiii. n. 1—6.

[i] Conſul ferox ab conſulatu priore, & non modo legum ac patrum majeſtatis, ſed ne deorum quidem ſatis metuens erat. Hanc inſitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna proſpero civilibus bellicique rebus ſucceſſu aluerat. Itaque ſatis apparebat, nec deos nec hominem conſulentem, ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum; quoque pronior eſſet in vitia ſua, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat. Lib. xxii. n. 3.

and provoke him by ravaging and laying waſte all the neighbouring country within his view. And this ſufficed to make the conſul reſolve upon giving battle, notwithſtanding the diſſuaſion of all the officers, who beſought him to wait for the coming up of his collegue. The ſucceſs was ſuch as they had foreſeen, fifteen thouſand Romans were left dead upon the ſpot, with Flaminius at their head, which rendered the lake of Thraſimene ever after famous for their bloody defeat.

## Fabius Dictator.

[k] When this ſorrowful news was brought to Rome, the whole city was in great conſternation. They expected exery moment to ſee Hannibal at their gates. Fabius Maximus was choſen [l] dictator, who after he had diſcharged the duties of religion, and given ſuch orders as were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the city, went directly to the army, with a reſolution not to hazard a battle, unleſs he was forced to it, or perfectly ſure of ſucceſs. He kept his troops upon the tops of the mountains, without loſing ſight of Hannibal, never coming ſo near him as to be under a neceſſity of fighting, nor removing to ſuch a diſtance, as to let him be out of his reach. He confined the ſoldiers ſtrictly to the camp, never ſuffering them to quit it except for forage, and then only under a ſtrong convoy. [m] He never engaged but in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and then too with ſo much caution, that his troops had always the advantage. By this means he inſenſibly reſtored to them that reſolution and confidence, of which the loſs of three battles had deprived them, and encouraged them to rely as formerly upon their own courage and good fortune. The enemy ſoon perceived, that the Romans had been taught by their

k Ib. n. 7—30.

l Prodictator.

m Neque un verſo periculo ſumma rerum committebatur, ut parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo receptu, aſſuefaciebant territum priſtinis cladibus militem, minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pœnitere ſuæ. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 12.

former

for defeats to make choice of a general, that was capable of making head againſt Hannibal; and Hannibal found, that he had more cauſe to be apprehenſive of the prudent and regular conduct of the dictator, than of his making any bold or hazardous attacks.

Minucius, the general of the Roman horſe, ſuffered the wiſe conduct of Fabius with more impatience than even Hannibal himſelf. [a] As warm and paſſionate in his diſcourſe as deſigns, he was continually railing at the dictator; his prudence and circumſpection he termed irreſolution and fearfulneſs, and called his virtues by the names of ſuch vices as approached the neareſt to them; and by an artifice, which too often ſucceeds, raiſed his own reputation upon the ruin of that of his ſuperior. And laſtly, by intriguing and caballing with the people, he obtained that his own authority ſhould be made equal with the dictator's, which till then had been unprecedented. But [o] Fabius, fully aſſured that the people, by making them equal in the command, did not put them upon an equality in the art of commanding, bore this injury with ſuch moderation, as ſhewed that he could no more be conquered by his own countrymen than his enemies.

Minucius, in conſequence of the equality of power betwixt him and Fabius, propoſed to him that each ſhould command their day, or even a longer ſpace of time. But Fabius refuſed to comply with this condition, as it expoſed the whole army to danger, whilſt it ſhould be under the direction of Minucius, and choſe rather to divide the troops, that he might be at

[a] Sed non Annibalem magis infeſtum tam ſanis conſiliis habebat, quam magiſtrum equitum. . . Ferox rapiduſque in conſiliis, ac linguis immodicus, pro cunctatore ſegnem, & cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat: premendorumque ſuperiorum arte (quæ peſſima ars nimis proſpe is multorum ſucceſſibus crevit) ſeſe extollebat Ib. n. 12.

[o] Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cum invicto à civibus hoſtibuſque animo ad exercitum rediit. Ibid. n. 26.

leaſt in a condition of preſerving that part of them, which fell to his ſhare.

What Fabius had foreſeen ſoon came to paſs. His collegue, eager and impatient for the battle, fell directly into the ſnare which Hannibal had laid for him, and his army was upon the point of being cut to pieces. [p] The dictator, without loſing time in uſeleſs reproaches, "Come, ſays he to his ſoldiers, let "us march to the aſſiſtance of Minucius, wreſt the "victory out of the hands of our enemies, and ob"lige our citizens to an acknowledgment of their "miſtake." He arrived very opportunely, and forced Hannibal to ſound a retreat, [q] who cried out as he was retiring, "that the cloud which had hung ſo "long upon the tops of the mountains, had burſt "at laſt with a mighty noiſe, and occaſioned a ter"rible ſtorm."

So important a ſervice, and in ſuch a conjuncture, opened the eyes of Minucius, and brought him to a confeſſion of his fault. To make inſtant reparation, he went immediately with his army to Fabius's tent, and calling him his father and deliverer, told him, he was come to put himſelf under his command again, and [r] to make void a decree, which was more burthenſome than honourable to him. The ſoldiers did the ſame, and nothing was to be ſeen on both ſides but mutual embraces, and the moſt lively expreſſions of thankfulneſs and gratitude; and [s] the reſt of the day, which was very near proving ſo fatal to the republick, was ſpent in diverſions and rejoicings.

[p] Aliud jurgandi ſuccenſendique tempus erit; nunc ſigna extra vallum proferre. Victoriam hoſti extorquemus, confeſſionem erroris civibus. Ib. n. 29.

[q] Annibalem ex acie redeuntem dixiſſe ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ ſedere in jugis montium ſolita ſit, cum procellâ imbrem dediſſe. Ib. n. 30.

[r] Plebiſcitum, quo oneratus magis quàm honoratus ſum, primus antiquo abrogoque, n. 30.

[s] Lætuſque dies, ex admodum triſti paulò antè ac propè execrabili, factus eſt, n. 30.

*The*

### *The battle of Cannæ.*

The moſt famous action of Hannibal, and which in all probability muſt have ruined for ever the power of Rome, was the battle of Cannæ. [t] L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were appointed conſuls at Rome. This laſt, [u] tho' of a baſe and mean extraction, had found means to obtain the conſulſhip, through the great wealth his father had left him, and his artifice in gaining the favour of the people by declaring openly againſt the great men, without any other merit than that of an unlimited ambition, and an equal opinion of his own ability. He loudly exclaimed, "that the only way to perpetuate the war "was to place ſuch as Fabius at the head of the army; "that for his part, he could put an end to it the very "firſt day he ſaw the enemy." His collegue, who was very ſenſible that [w] raſhneſs, beſides the unreaſonableneſs of it, had hitherto been always very unſucceſsful, was in a quite different way of thinking. Fabius, upon his departure for the campaign, confirmed him ſtill farther in theſe ſentiments, and often repeated to him, that the only way to conquer Hannibal was to watch occaſions and ſpin out the war to the utmoſt. "But, [x] ſaid he, your countrymen will "take pains to make this method impracticable to "you, even more than your enemies. Your ſoldiers

[t] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 34—53.

[u] His father is ſaid to have been a butcher.

[w] Temeritatem, præterquam quòd ſtulta ſit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuiſſe. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 38.

[x] Hæc una ſalutis via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infeſtamque civesſibi † magis quàm hoſtes faciunt. Idem enim tui, quod hoſtium milites, volent; idem Varro conſul Romanus, quod Annibal Pœnus imperator, cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus reſiſtas oportet. Reſiſtes autem, adverſus famam rumoreſque hominum ſi ſatis firmus ſteteris: ſi te neque collegæ vana gloria, neque tua falſa infamia moverit.—Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro conſiderato, † imbellem, pro perito belli vocent. Malo te ſapiens hoſtis metuat, quàm ſtulti cives laudent. Ib. n. 39.

† *I think it ſhould be read* tibi.

† Imbellis *muſt here ſignify* rudis in bello, imperitus belli.

" will in this conſpire with the Carthaginians; Var-
" ro and Hannibal will think alike upon this ſubject.
" Your only way will be to ſtand unmoved againſt
" the ſhock of popular rumours and reports, and not
" be diverted from your reſolution by the falſe glory
" of your collegue, or the falſe infamy which they
" will induſtriouſly throw upon you. Inſtead of a
" cautious, vigilant, and able general, let them re-
" preſent you as cowardly, indolent, and ignorant.
" I would rather have you dreaded by a wiſe enemy,
" than applauded by fooliſh citizens."

[y] It was cuſtomary among the Romans in time of war, to raiſe every year four legions, each of which conſiſted of four thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The allies, that is to ſay the people bordering upon the territories of Rome, ſupplied a like number of foot, with double and ſometimes treble the number of horſe. And theſe troops were uſually divided between the two conſuls, who made war ſeparately, and in different countries. But as this was an affair of the laſt importance, the two conſuls marched together, the number both of the Roman and Latin forces was doubled, and every legion augmented with an addition of a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe.

The ſtrength of Hannibal's army lay in his horſe, for which reaſon L. Paulus declined engaging in the open plain. Beſides, the Carthaginians were in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, and could not poſſibly ſubſiſt ten days in the country, ſo that the Spaniſh troops were upon the point of diſbanding. The armies continued ſome days in view of each other, till at laſt after different motions, Varro, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his collegue, came to an engagement near the little village of Cannæ. The ground was very favourable to the Carthaginians; and Hannibal, who knew how to improve every circumſtance, drew up his army in ſuch a manner, that the wind

[y] Polyb. lib. iii. p. 257.

Vul-

Vulturnus, which roſe at a certain regular time, blew directly upon the faces of the Romans during the battle, and poured a ſhower of duſt upon them. The battle was fought. I ſhall not relate the particulars of it; the curious reader may find them in Polybius and Livy, and eſpecially in the former, who being himſelf a ſoldier, muſt have ſucceeded better than the other in relating all the circumſtances of ſo memorable an action. The victory was long diſputed, and at laſt became complete on the ſide of the Carthaginians. The conſul L. Paulus was mortally wounded, and above fifty thouſand men left dead in the field, and amongſt them the beſt part of the officers. Varro, the other conſul, eſcaped to Venuſia, with no more than ſeventy horſemen.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, adviſed Hannibal to march directly to Rome without loſing time, promiſing him that within five days he ſhould ſup in the capitol. And upon the other's reply, that he muſt take time to conſider of that; "I "ſee, [a] ſays Maharbal, the Gods have not given the "ſame man all talents at once. You know how to "conquer, Hannibal; not how to improve the victo-"ry." [b] And indeed many are of opinion, that Rome and the empire were both ſaved by that delay.

It is eaſy to comprehend how great the conſternation was at Rome, upon the news of this bloody defeat. However they did not loſe courage. After having implored the aſſiſtance of the Gods by publick prayers and ſacrifices, the magiſtrates, encouraged by the prudent counſels and firm reſolution of Fabius, made all proper diſpoſitions, and provided for the ſecurity of the city. They immediately raiſed four legions, and a thouſand horſe, and granted a diſpen-

[a] It is a wind blowing from the South, which way the Romans were turned.

[a] Tum Maharbal, non omnia nimirum eidem dii dedere. Vincere ſcis, Annibal; victoriâ uti neſcis Liv. l. b. xxii. n 51.

[b] Mora ejus dici fatis creditur ſaluti fuiſſe urbi atque imperio. Ib.

ſation of age to ſeveral, that were not quite ſeventeen years old. The allies alſo raiſed new levies. Ten Roman officers, that were diſmiſſed by Hannibal upon their *parole*, came to Rome to require a ranſom for the priſoners. But tho' the republick was in great diſtreſs for ſoldiers, they conſtantly refuſed to redeem them, that they might not injure the Roman diſcipline, which puniſhed without pity whoever voluntarily ſubmitted to the enemy; and they choſe rather to arm the ſlaves they bought of private perſons to the number of eight thouſand, and the priſoners confined for debt or crimes, which amounted to ſix thouſand more; [b] the neceſſary taking place of the decent, ſays the hiſtorian, in this ſad conjuncture.

At Rome, the zeal of particular perſons and regard for the publick, ſhone out at this time in a wonderful manner. But the caſe was not the ſame with the allies. The preceding loſſes had not been able to ſhake their fidelity; but this laſt ſtroke, which as they thought muſt determine the ruin of the republick, they could not withſtand, and ſeveral of them went over to the conqueror's ſide. And yet neither the loſs of ſo many troops, nor the revolt of ſo many of their allies, could induce the Roman people to give any ear to an accommodation. [c] Inſtead of loſing courage, they never ſhewed ſo great magnanimity; and when the conſul returned to Rome after ſo conſiderable an overthrow, whereof he had been the principal cauſe, all the orders of the ſtate went out to meet him, and returned him thanks for not having deſpaired of the republick; whereas at Carthage, no puniſhment would have been great enough for a general after ſuch a diſgrace.

[b] Ad ultimum prope deſperatæ reipublicæ auxilium, cum honeſta utilibus cedunt, & deſcendit. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 14.

[c] Adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut conſuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipſe cauſa maxima fuiſſet, redeunti, & obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus ſit, & gratiæ actæ quod de republicâ non deſperâſſet: cui, ſi ductor Carthaginienſium fuiſſet, nihil recuſandum ſupplicii foret. Lib. xxii, n. 61.

Capua

Capua was one of the allied cities, which ſurrendered to Hannibal: But the ſtay he made there with his troops during the winter proved very fatal to him. [d]That manly courage which no misfortunes, no fatigues, had been able to ſubdue, was entirely enervated by the pleaſures of Capua, which the ſoldiers ran into with the greater guſt from being the leſs accuſtomed to them. This fault of Hannibal, in the opinion of good judges, was greater than his miſtake in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For the delay might ſeem only to have retarded the victory, whereas this laſt circumſtance abſolutely loſt him the power of conquering. * Thus Capua was to Hannibal what Cannæ had been to the Romans.

### Scipio *choſen General, reſtores the affairs of Spain.*

The death of the two Scipio's, the father and uncle of him I am about to ſpeak of, ſeemed likely to ruin entirely the Roman affairs in Spain, which hitherto had been very ſucceſsful. 'Tis a queſtion, whether it occaſioned greater mourning at Rome, or in Spain. For the defeat of the two armies, the almoſt certain loſs of ſo conſiderable a province, and the view of the publick ills, made up a part of the citizens grief; [e]whilſt Spain regretted and lamented their generals, and Cn. Scipio in particular, who had governed them long, and was the firſt who taught them, and made them reliſh the Roman juſtice and moderation.

[d] Quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ: & eo impenſiùs, quo avidiùs ex inſolentia in eas ſe merſerant. — Majuſque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium habitum eſt, quàm quòd non ex Cannenſi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxiſſet. Illa enim cunctatio diſtuliſſe modò victoriam videri potuit; hic error vires ademiſſe ad vincendum. Lib. xxiii. n. 18.

* Capuam Annibali Cannas fuiſſe. Ib. n. 45.

[e] Hiſpaniæ ipſos lugebant deſiderabantque duces: Cnæum tamen magis, quò diutiùs præfuerat eis, priorque & favorem occupaverat, & ſpecimen juſtitiæ temperantiæque Romanæ primus dederat. Lib. xxv. n. 36.

[f] Tears flowed afreſh at Rome, when they met to appoint a ſucceſſor to thoſe two great men. The affairs of that province appeared ſo deſperate, that no body preſumed to offer himſelf as a candidate for the place; and the mournful ſilence which reigned in the whole aſſembly, made them more ſenſibly regret the loſs they had ſuſtained. In this univerſal conſternation, Publius Corn. Scipio, a youth of four and twenty, the ſon of Publius who was lately ſlain, riſes up, and ſtanding in an higher place than the reſt, offers to go and command in Spain, if the people would accept of his ſervice. This courageous offer gives life and joy to the aſſembly, and all without exception unanimouſly elect him general. But as ſoon as the firſt heat was over, and the people reflected upon Scipio's age, they began to repent of what they had done. Some even drew a ſcornful preſage from his name and family, when they conſidered that they ſent him into a province, where he was to fight over the graves of his father and uncle. Scipio perceiving they grew cool, made a ſpeech to them ſo full of confidence, and ſpoke with ſo much diſcretion of his own age, and the honour they had done him, as alſo of the war that he undertook, that he at once entirely diſperſed the people's fears, and rekindled the ardour, with which they had conferred the command upon him. The ſame Scipio ſome years before having demanded the edileſhip before the time expreſſed by the laws, and the tribunes for that reaſon oppoſing his demand, "If the people, [g] ſays he, unanimouſly think proper "to chuſe me edile, I am then old enough."

Scipio's arrival in Spain inſpired the troops with freſh courage. [h] They diſcerned with joy the lines

[f] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 18. 19.

[g] Si me, inquit, omnes Quirites Ædilem facere volunt, ſatis annorum habeo. Lib. xxv. n. 2.

[h] Brevi faciam, ut quemadmodum nunc noſcitatis in me patris patruique ſimilitudinem oris vultuſque, & lineamenta corporis; ita ingenii, fidei, virtutiſque exemplum expreſſum ad effigiem vobis reddam. Lib. xxvi. n. 3.

and

and reſemblance of his father and uncle in his countenance; and in the firſt ſpeech he made them he told them, that he hoped they would ſoon likewiſe diſcern in him the ſame ſpirit, the ſame courage, and the ſame integrity.

His promiſes were not without effect. His firſt enterprize was the ſiege of Carthagena, the richeſt and at the ſame time the ſtrongeſt city in Spain. It was the repoſitory of the enemies arms, their arſenal, magazine, treaſury, and place of ſecurity, where they laid up whatever was neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of their armies, and where all the hoſtages of princes and people were alſo detained. Thus the conqueſt of this city alone would in a manner make him the maſter of all Spain. This important and difficult expedition, which till then had been looked upon as impoſſible, coſt him only one day. [i] The booty was immenſe; inſomuch that Carthagena itſelf was regarded as the leaſt part of the acquiſition. Scipio began by returning thanks to the Gods, not only for having made him maſter of the moſt opulent city in the country in one day, but for having before amaſſed in it the ſtrength and riches of almoſt all Africa and of all Spain. He then made his acknowledgments to the troops, and loaded them with praiſes, rewards and honours, according to their condition and merit.

[k] Then cauſing the priſoners to be brought before him, he ſpoke very obligingly to them, and comforted them, by repreſenting to them, "that they "were fallen into the hands of the Roman people, "who choſe rather to gain the affections of mankind "by benevolence and juſtice, than ſubject them by "fear, and to bind nations to them by the honour-

[i] Ut minimum omnium, inter tantas opes belli captas, Carthago ipſa fuerat. Lib. xxvi. n. 47.

[k] Scipio, vocatis obſidibus, univerſos bonum animum habere juſſit; veniſſe eos in populi Romani poteſtatem qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit: exteraſque gentes fide ac ſocietate junctas habere, quam triſti ſubjectas ſervitio. Lib. xxvi. n. 49.

"able

On a tombstone in a churchyard in Ulster is the following epitaph: "Erected to the memory of John Phillips, accidentally shot as a mark of affection by his brother."

" able title of friends and allies, than reduce th
" to the ſad and ſhameful condition of ſlaves."

It was on this occaſion, that a lady venerable her age and birth, the wife of Mandonius, brothe Indibilis King of the Ilergetæ, came and threw h ſelf at Scipio's feet, with ſeveral young Princeſ daughters of Indibilis, and others of the ſame qual and beſought him to order his guards to take a pa cular care of them. Scipio, who did not at firſt derſtand her meaning, anſwered that they ſhc want for nothing. The lady then reſuming her courſe, " That, [1] ſays ſhe, is not our preſent conce " for in the condition to which our fortune has " duced us, with what ought we not to be content " I am under an uneaſineſs of a very different ki " when I conſider the youth and beauty of theſe c " tives; for as for my own part, my age ſecures " againſt all apprehenſions of fear and danger." A at the ſame time ſhe pointed to the young Princeſ who all revered her as their mother. " My own " nour, and the glory of the Roman people, [a] rep " Scipio, would engage me to take care, that w " the whole world reſpects ſhould be regar " amongſt us: But you give me new reaſon to be p " ticularly careful in that point, from the virtu " attention I obſerve in you to preſerve only y " honour amidſt ſo many other ſubjects of fe: After this diſcourſe he committed them to the c of an officer of approved wiſdom, and ordered h to treat them with as much reſpect as if they w the friends or allies of the Romans.

1 Haud magni iſta facimus, inquit; quid enim huic fortunæ non ſatis eſt? Alia me cura ætatem harum intuentem. (nam ipſa jam extra periculum injuriæ muliebris ſum) ſimulat. Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 49.

a Tam Scipio: Meæ populique Romani diſciplinæ cauſâ face inquit, ne quid, quòd ſanctun quam eſſet, apud nos viola Nunc, ut id curem imper veſtra quoque virtus dignit facit, quæ ne in malis quidam litæ decoris matronalis eſtis.

A

After this they brought him a Princeſs of exquiſite beauty, who was betrothed to Allucius Prince of the Celtiberians. He immediately ſent for her parents and the perſon deſigned for her huſband, and told the latter that his bride had been kept in his houſe with the ſame decency as ſhe could have been in her father's: "And I have uſed her thus," adds he, "that I "might be able to make you a preſent worthy of you "and of me. Neither do I aſk you any other ac- "knowledgment for it, except that you become the "friend of the Roman people. If you think me the "man of probity that theſe nations have experienced "my father and my uncle to have been, be aſſured, "that there are many others like us in Rome, and "that there is no people this day upon earth, whoſe "friendſhip you ought more carefully to deſire for "you and yours, or whoſe enmity you ought more "to ſtand in dread of." As the parents of the lady preſſed Scipio to accept of a conſiderable ſum which they had brought for her ranſom, and had laid all that gold and ſilver at his feet, "This ſum, ſays he "to Allucius, I add to the portion you was to receive "from your father-in-law;" and obliged him to take it. As ſoon as the Prince was returned into his own country, he proclaimed the great virtues of Scipio wherever he went, [o] ſaying, "that a young man re- "ſembling the Gods was come into Spain, conquer- "ing all before him by force of arms, and ſtill more "by kindneſs and civility;" and ſoon after raiſing a body of troops among his vaſſals, he returned to join him with fifteen hundred horſe.

[n] Fuit ſponſa tua apud me eâdem, qua apud ſoceros tuos parentesque ſuos, verecundiâ. Servata tibi eſt, ut inviolatum & dignum me teque dari tibi donum poſſet. Hanc mercedem unam pro eo munere paciſcor; amicus populo Romano ſis; & ſi me virum bonum credis eſſe, quales patrem patruumque meum jam antè hæ gentes nôrunt, ſcias multos noſtri ſimiles in civitate Romanâ eſſe: nec ullum in terris populum hodie dici poſſe, quem minùs tibi hoſtem tuiſque eſſe velis, aut amicum malis. Liv lib. xxvi. n. 50.

[o] Veniſſe diis ſimillimum juvenem, vincentem omnia cùm armis tùm benignitate ac beneficiis. Lib. xxvi. n. 50.

Scipio,

Scipio, having ſpent the winter in gaining the affections of the people, partly by making them preſents, and partly by ſending back their hoſtages and priſoners, took the field as early as the ſeaſon would admit. The two Princes we have mentioned, Indibilis and Mandonius, joined him with their troops, [p] and declaring that their perſons only had hitherto remained with the enemy, but their inclination had been where they knew that virtue and juſtice were had in honour, they ſurrendered to him, and put themſelves under his protection. Their wives and children were then brought out to them, and the exceſs of joy on both ſides not allowing them to ſpeak for a long while, was only expreſſed by tears and embraces.

Aſdrubal, terrified with the rapid ſucceſſes of the Roman army, thought the only means of putting a ſtop to them was by coming to a battle. This was what Scipio wanted and had well prepared for. Accordingly they came to an engagement. The Carthaginians were beaten and left above eight thouſand men upon the field. Aſdrubal fled towards the Pyrenæan mountains, in order to join his brother Hannibal in Italy. [q] 'Twas after this victory of Scipio's, that the people, charmed with his valour and moderation, would have given him the title of King. Scipio told them that his name, which was ſo much revered by all other nations, was held in deteſtation by the Romans. That for his part, he was ſatisfied with having royal inclinations; that if they conſidered them as what did moſt honour to man, they might content themſelves with aſcribing them to him in ſecret, without giving him the name they were called by. Theſe people, although Barbarians, were thoroughly convinced of his greatneſs of ſoul, in deſpiſing a character which was the admiration and envy of the reſt of mankind.

[p] Regem corpus dimittavit ſuum ſuorumque pro apud eos (Carthaginienſes) fuit; animum jam pridem ibi eſſe, ubi jus ac fas crederet coli. Lib. xxvii. n. 17.

[q] Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 19.

Scipio

Scipio diſpatched his brother to Rome, with the news of his having conquered Spain. But he carried his views much farther, and conſidered this conqueſt only as a prelude and preparation for that of all Africa.

[i] Scipio's valour was not his only virtue, he had a wonderful addreſs in conciliating eſteem, and bringing over others into his views by the arts of inſinuation, as he ſhewed in his famous interview with Syphax King of Numidia, in which [k] Aſdrubal was preſent; who owned, that though he had formed to himſelf an idea of the military virtues of Scipio, he appeared to him ſtill greater and more admirable in this conference, than he had ever done before.

### SCIPIO *returns to Rome, is choſen conſul, and prepares for the conqueſt of Africa.*

[l] The fame of Scipio's victories and great virtues had got before him to Rome, and inclined all men in his favour. As ſoon as he arrived there he was choſen conſul by general conſent, and had the province of Sicily aſſigned him. This lay directly in his road to Africa, and he made no ſcruple to own that his views and deſigns tended thither.

Fabius Maximus, either through an exceſs of circumſpection, which was ſuitable enough to his character, or through mere jealouſy, employed all his intereſt and eloquence in the ſenate to oppoſe him, and alledged ſeveral, in appearance, very ſtrong reaſons againſt him. Scipio refuted them all, and concluded the diſpute by declaring that he would ſubmit to the judgment of the ſenate; upon which it was decreed that he ſhould have Sicily for his province, with leave to paſs into Africa, if he thought it for the good of the republick.

[i] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 18.

[k] This Aſdrubal was not Hannibal's brother.

[l] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 38—46.

He

He loſt no time, and immediately ſet out for Sicily, [m] ſtill keeping in view his deſign of carrying the war into the enemy's country. Lælius was gone into Africa with ſome troops; and it was rumoured, that Scipio himſelf was arrived there with his army. Carthage trembled, and thought herſelf loſt. She was ſoon undeceived, but however the Carthaginians diſpatched couriers to the generals in Italy, with orders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to oblige Scipio to be recalled. Maſiniſſa, who had entered into alliance with the Romans, and was very powerful in Africa, made warm inſtances to him to come thither, and even reproached him for having ſo long diſappointed the expectation of his allies. Scipio did not ſtand in need of ſuch remonſtrances. He inſtantly made preparations for the war, and haſtened his departure with all poſſible expedition.

[n] Scipio's enemies in the mean while had ſpread a report at Rome, that he ſpent his time at Syracuſe in luxury and pleaſures; that the garriſon of the city, after his example, wallowed in debauchery, and that licentiouſneſs and riot reigned throughout the whole army. Fabius giving credit to theſe reports, broke out into violent invectives againſt Scipio, and adviſed that he ſhould immediately be recalled. The ſenate acted with more wiſdom and moderation, and firſt reſolved to be ſatisfied of the truth of the fact. They appointed commiſſioners, who when they came upon the ſpot, found all things in wonderful order, the troops perfectly well diſciplined, the magazines furniſhed with proviſions, the arſenals ſtocked with arms and clothes, the gallies extremely well equipped, and ready to ſet ſail. This ſpectacle filled them with joy and admiration. They concluded, that if Carthage could be conquered, it muſt be by ſuch a general and ſuch an army; and they preſſed Scipio in the name of the ſenate, from whom they had received

[m] Nihil aliud, ſed Carthaginis jam excidium agitabat animo. Lib. xxix n. 1.

[n] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 19—25.

their

their orders, to haſten his departure, and gratify the expectation of the publick, as ſoon as poſſible.

[o] Accordingly he ſet forward, and the Sicilians ran in troops to be witneſſes of his departure. Scipio, who had already acquired ſuch reputation by his victories, and in the opinion of the people was deſtined to ſtill greater events, drew upon him the eyes and attention of all mankind. They principally admired the boldneſs of the ſcheme, which only he was capable of forming, and had never entered into the head of any other general, of reducing Hannibal to quit Italy by an expedition againſt Carthage, of carrying the war into Africa itſelf, and ending it there. Scipio firſt offering prayers and libations to the Gods at the ſtern of his ſhip, ſet ſail with the acclamations, vows, and benedictions of the whole people.

[p] The paſſage was ſhort and favourable, and as ſoon as Scipio ſaw the coaſt of Africa, lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, he beſought the Gods to favour his enterprize. The report of his landing threw the whole coaſt into conſternation, and terrified even Carthage itſelf.

Scipio firſt ravaged all the plain country, and then made himſelf maſter of a very opulent city in Africa, where he took eight thouſand priſoners. But what gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction was the arrival of Maſiniſſa, a very brave Prince, who joined him with a conſiderable body of horſe.

[q] The Carthaginians preſently ſent Aſdrubal againſt him, with an army of above thirty thouſand men; but their great dependance was upon Syphax, who actually came up very ſoon after, with fifty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe. His arrival obliged Scipio to raiſe the ſiege of Utica, a maritime city, which he had begun to attack.

[r] When the winter was over, Scipio reſumed the ſiege. Aſdrubal was encamped very near him, and Sy-

[o] Ib. n. 26, 27.
[p] N. 28.
[q] N. 35.
[r] Lib. xxx. n. 3—17.

phax

own, than Hannibal did for quitting his enemy's country; he often turned his eyes towards the coaſts of Italy, complaining both of the Gods and men, and pronounced a thouſand execrations againſt himſelf, for not leading his ſoldiers directly to Rome, whilſt they were freſh reeking with Roman blood after the battle of Cannæ.

[w] When he arrived in Africa, he propoſed an interview with Scipio. The time and place were agreed on. Theſe two generals, who were not only the moſt illuſtrious of their time, but might deſervedly be parallel'd with the greateſt Princes and moſt famous commanders that ever were, ſtood ſilent for ſome time as aſtoniſhed at the ſight of each other, and taken up with mutual admiration. At laſt Hannibal broke ſilence, and commending Scipio in a very artful manner, laid before him a very lively deſcription of the diſorders of war, and the ills it had brought both upon the conquerors and the conquered. He exhorted him not to be dazzled with the ſplendor of his victories; that though hitherto he had been ſucceſsful, he ought to apprehend the inconſtancy of fortune; that without going far for examples, he himſelf, who was now ſpeaking to him, was a flagrant proof of it; that Scipio was then what Hannibal had been at Thraſimene and Cannæ; that he ought to make a better uſe of the opportunity, than he had done himſelf, by making peace at a time when he was maſter of the conditions. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians were ready to give up Sicily, Sardinia and Spain, to the Romans, with all the iſlands that lay between Africa and Italy; that they could now reſolve, ſince the Gods would have it ſo, to confine themſelves within the limits of Africa, whilſt they ſaw the Romans maſters of ſo many foreign kingdoms, both by ſea and land.

[x] Scipio anſwered in fewer words, but with no leſs dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians with their

[w] Lib. xxx. n. 29, 30. [x] N. 31.

perfidiouſneſs

whole country. Lælius and Maſiniſſa purſued Syphax to his capital, beſieged him there, and took him priſoner. It was then the famous ſtory of Sophoniſba fell out. Syphax was carried to Rome, and as ſoon as the people there heard the news of ſo complete a victory, they preſently ran into all the temples to return thanks to the Gods.

[1] Hannibal at the ſame time received orders from Carthage, which obliged him to depart immediately. The face of affairs was much changed in Italy. He had received ſeveral blows which had weakened him extremely. He had the mortification to ſee Capua taken by the Romans almoſt before his eyes; nor could his march towards Rome divert them from the ſiege. He drew near the city without any effect, and then let fall this [2] expreſſion, "That the Gods "ſometimes took from him the inclination, and "ſometimes the power of taking Rome." But what was moſt grievous to him, he learned that at the ſame time he lay before the gates of the city, a body of recruits was diſpatched from thence for Spain. But the finiſhing ſtroke to his misfortunes was the entire defeat of his brother Aſdrubal's army, of which he was informed by the head of that general being thrown into his camp. He was therefore obliged to retire to the extremities of Italy, where he [3] received his orders from Carthage, which he could not hear without breaking out into bitter ſighs and tears, foaming with indignation to ſee himſelf thus forced to abandon his prey. No exile ever expreſſed a greater concern for quitting his

[1] Lib. xxx. n. 20.

[2] A duabus Annibalis fertur, patriæ ſibi irato, Romæ modò metuminam eſſe, modò fortunam. Lib. xxvi. n. 11.

[3] Frequens, gemituſque, ac vix lacrymis temperans, dicitur legationem verba audiſſe .... Rarò quemquam alium patriam exilii cauſa relinquentem, magis mœſtum abiiſſe ferunt, quàm Annibalem hoſtium terrâ excedentem. Reſpexiſſe ſæpe Italiæ littora, Deos hominesque accuſantem, ſe quoque ac ſuam ipſius dirum execratum. QUOD NON CUNCTUM AB CANNENSI VICTORIA MILITEM ROMAM DUXISSET. Lib. xxx. n. 20.

own,

own, than Hannibal did for quitting his enemy's country; he often turned his eyes towards the coaſts of Italy, complaining both of the Gods and men, and pronounced a thouſand execrations againſt himſelf, for not leading his ſoldiers directly to Rome, whilſt they were freſh reeking with Roman blood after the battle of Cannæ.

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[w] Lib. xxx. n. 29, 30.

[x] N. 31.

perfidiouſneſs

Thus [e] ended the ſecond Punick war, which had laſted full ſeventeen years. Scipio returned to Rome through infinite crowds of various nations, whom curioſity to ſee him on his paſſage had drawn together; and the moſt magnificent triumph was decreed for him, that had ever been ſeen at Rome. Nothing was wanting to it but the preſence of King Syphax, who died at Tivoli ſome days before. The ſurname of Africanus was then given him; but whether by the army, or by the people, or by his friends and thoſe of his own family, is uncertain. This however is ſure, that he was the firſt to whom the honour of taking the name of a conquered nation was granted.

### *The war againſt Philip King of Macedon.*

This war began immediately upon the concluſion of that with Carthage, and laſted only four years. The ſecond Punick war was the occaſion and cauſe of this. [f] Philip, as is uſual with politick Princes, who regulate their conduct by their intereſts, and pay a greater regard to advantage than to equity in their undertakings, ſeeing two ſuch powerful ſtates at variance as the Carthaginians and Romans, had waited for the deciſion of fortune before he declared himſelf on either ſide, as being fully reſolved to join with the ſtrongeſt. His intereſt was the more concerned in this war, as Italy lay near his dominions, which were divided from it only by the Ionian ſea. Three conſiderable victories gained by Hannibal one after another, made him judge that the war would end in his favour, and determined him to embrace his party. [g] He

[e] N. 45.

[f] *In hanc dimicationem duorum validiſſimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant; inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex..... Is, ut populi inaliet victoriam eſſe, ita ſuæ acique virtutis, fluctuatus animo fuerat. Poſtcaquam tertia jam pugna, tertia victoria cum Pœnis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit, legatoſque ad Annibalem miſit.* Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 33.

[g] Liv. lib. xxiii, n. 33, 34. & 38, 39.

therefore ſent ambaſſadors to him, but by good fortune they were taken by the Romans, upon their return home with letters from Hannibal to Philip upon them, and carried to Rome. This happened ſoon after the news of the bloody defeat at Cannæ. [h] The ſenate was ſenſible that their dangers muſt conſiderably increaſe by the addition of the Macedonian war to that of Carthage. However, inſtead of being diſcouraged by ſuch an apprehenſion, the Romans turned their thoughts wholly upon the proper means of carrying the war into Macedonia, that they might thereby hinder Philip from paſſing into Italy: The taking of the ambaſſadors gave them time for it. Philip was under a neceſſity of ſending others, who at laſt returned to him with the treaty they had concluded with Hannibal. [i] Polybius has preſerved it entire, and it well deſerves to be read. There is mention made in it of all the Gods of both parties, under whoſe inſpection this treaty was made; and it is particularly expreſſed, that Hannibal expected an happy concluſion of the war from the aſſiſtance of the Gods.

The Romans did not fail to ſend a fleet againſt Philip, which took off his inclination for paſſing into Italy, by obliging him to think of defending his own country. This Prince, during the Punick war, had employed his time in making expeditions into Greece, where under pretence of ſupporting the Achæans against their enemies the Ætolians, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral conſiderable cities.

[k] A ſolid peace had been concluded with the Carthaginians at Rome, the firſt thing that fell under their deliberation was the diſpute with Philip: The complaints of the Athenians, who implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans, occaſioned it; and it was decreed that war

h Cum ... Poenos ... ſecundum ultro inferre ... ſuſceptum ab Hannibale in Macedonia bellum. Liv. xxiii. n. 38.
... Carthaginenſes ... Polyb. l. v. p. 52.
... ſunt, ... Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, &c.

ſhould

should be declared against Philip. [l] The Romans, who were always attentive to matters of religion, especially in the entrance upon new wars, omitted nothing which was usually practised, and ordered publick prayers and sacrifices to be offered up in all the temples of the Gods.

The consul appointed to march into Macedonia set forward in the beginning of the spring. I shall not give here a particular account of all that passed during the course of the war. Peace was several times proposed, and divers interviews had, but all to no purpose. [m] At last the battle of Cynocephalus decided the fate of Philip. The pro-consul T. Quintius Flaminius commanded the Roman army. The Macedonians were conquered, and the King obliged to fly. His first care in that moment of trouble and confusion was to send to Lariſſa to burn all his papers, lest they should prove prejudicial to his friends and allies, in case they fell into the hands of the Romans; and [n] Polybius takes notice of this particular, as a proof of this Prince's wisdom and prudence in adversity; whereas before, his prosperity having filled him with vanity and pride, had changed the discretion and moderation of his conduct in the beginning of his reign into violence and tyranny.

[o] Philip then turned his thoughts towards peace in earnest. He found Flaminius very much disposed to it; as it was then certainly known that Antiochus King of Syria intended to pass into Europe, and declare war against the Romans. The conditions were the same with those which had already been offered, and among the rest, that all the Grecian cities, both in Europe and Asia, should enjoy their liberty, and that Philip should recal the garrisons he had placed in them. The treaty was confirmed at Rome, where

[l] Civitas religiosa, in principiis maximè novorum bellorum, decrevit supplicationes, &c. Lib. xxxi. n. 9

[m] Lib. xxxiii. n. 7—10.

[n] Lib. xvii. p. 763.

[o] Liv. l. b. xxxiii. n. 11, &c.

his ſon Demetrius, whom he had ſent an hoſtage thither, continued for ſeveral years, after this great affair had been concluded, and contracted a particular friendſhip with the Romans.

[p] The courier, who carried the ratification of the treaty, arrived very opportunely in Greece, at the time they were upon the point of celebrating the ſolemn games at Corinth. The natural curioſity of the Greeks for ſuch ſpectacles as theſe, and the convenient ſituation of the place, as it might be approached by ſea on both ſides, made the aſſembly always very numerous. But the impatience of knowing what was to be the fate of all Greece for the future, had drawn thither at that time an incredible concourſe of people. When the Romans had taken their ſeat upon the day appointed, the herald advanced into the midſt of the amphitheatre, and after ſilence impoſed upon the whole aſſembly by the ſound of a trumpet, he pronounced the following words, with a loud voice. THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND T. QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING CONQUERED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DECREE, THAT THE PEOPLE OF GREECE SHALL HENCEFORWARD LIVE UNDER THEIR OWN LAWS, FREE AND EXEMPT FROM ALL SLAVERY. And at the ſame time read over a liſt of all the people that had been brought under ſubjection by Philip. Such agreeable and unexpected news, ſeemed rather a dream than a reality. They could neither believe their eyes nor their ears, and every one wanted to ſee and hear the herald again, that they might be fully aſſured of their happineſs. When the matter was aſcertained, [q] there aroſe ſuch joyful exclamations, and ſo frequently repeated, that it evidently appeared

[p] N. 30—32.

[q] Ut facilè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, eſſe. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum eſt, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi ſpectaculo intenti eſſent; adeo unum gaudium præoccuparverat omnium aliarum ſenſuum voluptatum. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 32.

there

there was no bleſſing which ſo nearly affects mankind as liberty. The plays were performed in great hurry, nobody concerning themſelves any more about them, nor giving the leaſt attention to them, to ſuch a degree had one ſingle joy extinguiſhed in their minds the ſenſe of every other pleaſure. When the plays were ended, they all ran, almoſt univerſally, in a body to the Roman general, every one ſtriving to draw nigh their deliverer, to pay him their compliments, to kiſs his hand, and preſent him with crowns and garlands of flowers, inſomuch that his health would have been endangered, if the vigour of his age (for he was ſcarce then three and thirty years old) and the joy of ſo glorious a day, had not ſupported him, and enabled him to undergo the fatigue.

## The War against Antiochus King of Syria.

[r] The Romans, who had hitherto prudently diſſembled their diſcontent, and ſhut their eyes to ſeveral enterprizes of Antiochus, that they might not have at once two powerful enemies upon their hands, as ſoon as they ſaw themſelves freed from the war with the Macedonians, began to open their minds more freely to him, and let him know, that he muſt quit the cities of Aſia, which had [s] belonged to Philip or Ptolemy; that he muſt ſuffer the Grecian towns to enjoy their liberty; and that he muſt no longer attempt to enter Europe, or bring an army thither.

[t] This Prince, of his own diſpoſition ſufficiently inclined to war, was farther induced to it by the earneſt ſolicitations of the Ætolians, [u] and the advice of Hannibal, who had retired into his dominions, ever ſince the Romans, who were informed of his carrying on private intrigues and intelligence with the King of

[r] Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 44, 45.
[s] Lib. xxxiv. n. 58.
[t] N. 60, &c.
[u] Lib. xxxv. n. 19.

Syria, had, againſt the opinion of Scipio, required the Carthaginians to deliver up that implacable enemy of Rome, who could not ſuffer peace, and would infallibly cauſe the ruin of his country. Antiochus publickly [w] declared himſelf at laſt, marched his troops into Greece, and took ſeveral cities.

[x] The Romans then, who had long been in expectation of this event, declared war againſt him in form, having firſt conſulted the Gods upon the ſucceſs of the enterprize, and implored their aſſiſtance by publick prayers and ſacrifices.

Hannibal adviſed, in a general council held upon this occaſion, that Antiochus ſhould immediately fit out his fleet, and land a body of troops in Italy, which he offered to command in perſon, whilſt the King ſhould remain in Greece with his army, always making ſhew of intending to paſs thither, and being conſtantly in actual readineſs to do ſo, when it ſhould be convenient. This advice was neglected, as likewiſe all the counſels he afterwards gave; and whether it was through miſtruſt or jealouſy, and an apprehenſion leſt a ſtranger ſhould have the whole glory of the enterprize, he made no uſe of Hannibal, who might have been of more uſe to him than all his armies.

Beſides, this Prince, prematurely puffed up by the firſt ſucceſs of his arms, and forgetting at once the two great projects he had formed, of making war againſt the Romans, and delivering Greece, [y] ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by a paſſion he had entertained for a young woman at Chalcis, paſſed the winter quarter in that city, in celebrating his nuptials with great feaſts and rejoicings, and by that means enervated the ſtrength and courage of his troops.

The following campaign ſhewed the effects of it. His troops, emaſculated by luxury and pleaſure, were not able to ſtand before the Romans, but were beaten upon ſeveral occaſions. The King himſelf fly-

[w] Lib. xxxv. n. 40.
[x] Lib. xxxvi. n. 1, &c.
[y] Lib. xxxvi. n. 11.

ing

ing from city to city, and country to country, and always briskly purſued, was at laſt obliged to return into Aſia. And his fleet had no better ſucceſs by ſea.

[z] The next year Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lelius were choſen conſuls. Scipio Africanus offered to ſerve as lieutenant under his brother, in caſe they would aſſign Greece to him, without diſpoſing of the provinces by lot, according to cuſtom. This propoſal was joyfully received by the people, who were fully perſuaded that the victorious Scipio would be of greater ſervice to the conſul and the Roman army, than the conquered Hannibal to Antiochus. His requeſt was therefore granted by an almoſt univerſal conſent, and five thouſand old ſoldiers who had ſerved under him, followed him as volunteers.

The effect anſwered their expectation. The conſul prepared to carry the war into Aſia. [a] But it was firſt neceſſary to be aſſured of Philip's diſpoſitions, through whoſe country the army was to paſs. They found him in a very good diſpoſition. He ſupplied the troops with all neceſſary refreſhments, and took particular care to treat the generals and officers with a royal magnificence. He accompanied them not only into Macedonia, but into Thrace, and as far as the Hellespont.

Antiochus took a great deal of pains to draw over Pruſias King of Bithynia to his intereſt by making him ſenſible that the Roman conquests might hereafter be dangerous to himſelf, and repreſenting to him that the deſign of the Romans was to deſtroy all the kingdoms of the earth, and eſtabliſh an univerſal empire. The letters of the two Scipios, which were given into his hand at the ſame time, and the arrival of the Roman ambaſſadors, who came very opportunely, while he was in full preſence, made a greater impreſſion upon

[z] Liv. xxxvii. 1, & 4. [a] Liv. xxxvii. 7. [illegible]

him than the reaſons and promiſes of Antiochus. ſaw plainly that an alliance with the Romans wa moſt ſecure and uſeful ſtep he could take, and cluded it immediately.

[d] The ſeveral ſhocks that Antiochus had rec both by ſea and land, made him ſeriouſly incli peace. [e] The magnanimity of Scipio Africanu moderation after his victories in Spain and Afric high degree of glory to which he had attained, with which he had reaſon to be ſatisfied, mad hope that by his means the negotiation might b ried on with the greater facility. Beſides, he ha general's ſon in his hands, who probably had taken priſoner in ſome engagement, and offered t him back to his father without a ranſom, if the were concluded. The Romans, who never a any thing in the conditions they had once prop kept cloſe to thoſe they had offered the King a beginning of the war; and thus the negotiation p ineffectual. Scipio in return to Antiochus's civ ſent him word, that as a father and a private ma would omit no opportunity of expreſſing his grati but as a perſon employed by the publick, and a manding officer, he muſt expect nothing from and laſtly, the ſole counſel he could give him friend, was to renounce the war, and refuſe no the conditions of peace that were offered him.

[f] The Romans marched ſeveral days. The was encamped at Thyatira, and learning that S Africanus was left ſick at Elea, he ſent back his ſ him. [g] The joy of once more ſeeing a ſon who tenderly loved, made no leſs impreſſion on the than the mind of the father. After he had long him in his embraces, and ſatisfied his affection: [h]

[d] N. 4—6.

[e] *In Scipione Africano maximum ſpem habebat; præterquam quod & magnitudo animi, & ſatietas gloriæ placabilem eum maximè faciebat: notumque erat genitum qui victor ille in Hiſpaniâ quæcunque in Africâ geſſiſſet.*

[f] N. 37.

[g] Non ſolùm animo patrum munus, ſed corpori quoque lubre gaudium fuit. N. 37.

61

"ſays he, to the deputies, aſſure the King of my gra-
"titude, and tell him, that for his preſent I can
"give him no other mark of it, than by adviſing him
"not to fight till my return to the camp."

[h] In the mean time, the conſul was daily advancing, and at laſt came up with the army of Antiochus. The King kept ſeveral days in his camp, not caring to hazard a battle. The winter was approaching, and the conſul apprehenſive leſt the victory ſhould eſcape out of his hands. Seeing therefore his troops full of ardour, he led them againſt the enemy. The battle was long and obſtinate, but the victory at laſt turned entirely on the ſide of the Romans. The King loſt that day fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, without reckoning the priſoners; he retreated in diſorder with the few troops which were left him, firſt to Sardis, and then to Apamea. This victory was followed by the ſurrender of the ſtrongeſt cities of Aſia.

[i] Deputies ſoon after arrived from Antiochus, with orders to accept of ſuch conditions of peace, as the Romans ſhould pleaſe to lay upon him. Theſe were the ſame as had been offered from the beginning, that the King ſhould give up all that he poſſeſſed in Europe, with all the cities he had in Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus, which ſhould henceforward be the boundary of his kingdom; that he ſhould pay the Roman people fifteen thouſand Euboick talents, for the expences of the war, and four thouſand to King Eumenes; but firſt of all, that he ſhould give up Hannibal, without which the Romans would hearken to no propoſals. This treaty was confirmed at Rome. [k] The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio, and he took the ſurname of Aſiaticus.

### *The end and death of Scipio.*

[l] Though Scipio had ſhewed ſo much integrity and diſintereſtedneſs in the war with Antiochus, he was

[h] N. 38—44. [i] N. 45. [k] N. 58. [l] Liv. lib. xxxviii. n. 50—53.

notwithſtanding accuſed of having held intelligence with that Prince. Some time after his return to Rome, the two Petillii, tribunes of the people, brought an accuſation againſt him upon this ſcore. They ſaid that Antiochus had ſent him back his ſon without a ranſom, and made court to him as to one who decided every thing at Rome in reſpect to peace and war. That in the province, he rather behaved with the authority of a dictator than the ſubmiſſion of a lieutenant; that his motive in going to the war was to perſuade Greece, Aſia, and all the people of the Eaſt, that one man alone was the prop and ſupport of the empire, which he had before made known to Spain, Gaul, Sicily and Africa. [m] That Rome, the miſtreſs of the world, owed its glory and ſecurity to Scipio; that a ſingle word of his mouth had more authority than the decrees of the ſenate or the orders of the people; and laſtly, finding no particular of his life that was capable of reproach, they endeavoured to make his power odious.

Scipio, without ſaying a ſingle word to the points on which he was accuſed, made ſo ſublime a diſcourſe upon the great enterprizes he had happily put an end to, that all the world agreed there never was a more pompous encomium given, or a more juſt one. [n] For he reported thoſe actions, with the ſame elevation of mind, and the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, that he had ſhewed in doing them. Nor was any one offended at hearing him commend himſelf, as his ſpeaking in that manner aroſe from a neceſſity of defending himſelf, and not a deſire of extolling. The whole time was ſpent in debates, and night coming on, the judgment was deferred to another day.

[m] Unum hunc caput civitatis [illegible] Romani imperii; ſub umbrâ Scipionis [illegible] nam ordinis [illegible] ſuus [illegible] lib. xxxviii. n. 51.

[n] Dicebantur enim ab eodem animo ingenioque, a quo geſta erant: & animum famidium aberat, quia [illegible]

When that day came, Scipio appeared with a number of clients and friends, and after ſilence proclaimed, "It was on the ſame day with this," ſays he to the tribunes, "that I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians near Carthage. As therefore it is not "reaſonable to ſpend it in debate and conteſt, I ſhall "go directly to the capitol, to give thanks for this victory to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and all the "Gods who inhabit there. Attend me in this duty "of religion and gratitude, as many of you as have "leiſure, and pray the Gods to give you commanders "like me; if it be true that from the time of my be"ing ſeventeen years old, in proportion as you have "conferred honours upon me exceeding my years, I "have alſo endeavoured to anticipate your ſuffrages "by my ſervices." Having ſpoke thus, he went ſtrait to the capitol, whither the whole aſſembly followed him to the very officers of the tribunes, who ſaw themſelves deſerted by all mankind except their ſlaves. This was the moſt glorious day in Scipio's life, and in point of real grandeur had ſomething more ſplendid and memorble in it, than that whereon he entered Rome triumphant over Syphax and the Carthaginians.

From that day, which may be looked upon as the laſt of ſo glorious a life, he retired to Liternum to avoid the jealouſy and malignity of his accuſers, with a reſolution not to be preſent at the trial of his cauſe, which had been put off. [o] He had too high a ſpirit, and had hitherto ſupported too great a character in the republick, to be able to deſcend to the form of a trial.

When the day of trial was come, his brother Scipio laid the cauſe of his abſence upon a troubleſome illneſs, which would not permit of a journey to Rome. His accuſers laying hold of his retirement to render him ſtill more odious to the people, required that he

o Major animus & fortuna erat, quam ut ... in humilitatem cauſam dicentium. L. b. xxxvi i. n. 52.

ſhould be taken by force from his country-houſe, and brought to Rome againſt his inclination, to anſwer to the accuſations he ſtood charged with. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, one of the tribunes of the people, who had ever been the enemy of Scipio, not being able to endure that he ſhould be treated with ſuch indignity, declared in his favour, and full of reſentment againſt his collegues: "What, tribunes, ſays he, ſhall this "conqueror of Spain and Africa be trod on by you? "Has he defeated four Carthaginian generals, cut to "pieces and put to flight four great armies in Spain, "conquered Syphax, Hannibal, and Antiochus (for "his brother is willing to divide the honour of this "laſt victory with him) only to fall by the hatred "and envy of the two Petillii? [p] Are then no merits, "no honours ſufficient to procure a ſafe retreat, a "ſacred and inviolable aſylum for great men, where "their old age, if it cannot command reſpect, may "at leaſt be protected from inſult and outrage?" This diſcourſe was received with general applauſe, and the ſenate ſoon after returned their thanks to Sempronius, for preferring the publick intereſt to his private reſentment. His accuſers not being able to bear the reproaches made them on all ſides, deſiſted from their proſecution.

Scipio paſt the reſt of his life at Literum, without ſo much as deſiring to ſee Rome any more, and cauſed a tomb to be erected there for him, that he might not be buried in an ungrateful country.

### *The death of Hannibal.*

Hannibal not thinking himſelf any longer ſecure in the dominions of Antiochus, retired to Pruſias King of Bithynia. [q] But the Romans did not ſuffer him

[p] Nullis ne meritis ſuis, nullis veſtris honoribus, unquam in arcem tutam, & velut ſanctam, clari viri pervenient; ubi, ſi non venerabilis, inviolata ſaltem ſenectus eorum confidat? Lib. xxxviii. n. 53.

[q] Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 51.

to

to reſt there, but ſent Quintius Flaminius to that King to complain of the refuge he gave him. It was by no means difficult for Hannibal to divine the ſubject of the embaſſy, but he did not expect that he ſhould be delivered into the hands of his enemies. He inſtantly attempted to eſcape by flight, but perceived that the ſeven private paſſages he had made to his palace, were all ſeized by the ſoldiers of Pruſias, who deſigned to make his court to the Romans by betraying his gueſt. He then cauſed poiſon to be brought him, which he had long kept by him to make uſe of upon occaſion, and holding it in his hands: "Let "us deliver, ſays he, the Roman people from an un- "eaſineſs which ſo long torments them, ſince they "have not patience to wait for an old man's death. "The victory which Flaminius gains over a man diſ- "armed and betrayed, will not be much for his ho- "nour. This day alone ſhews how much the Ro- "mans are degenerated. Their fathers adviſed Pyr- "rhus to guard againſt a traitor, who deſigned to "poiſon him, at the very time that Prince was mak- "ing war upon them in the heart of Italy. And now "they have ſent a perſon of conſular dignity to en- "gage Pruſias to put his friend and hoſt to death, "and commit an abominable crime." And then, uttering imprecations againſt Pruſias, and calling upon the Gods, who were the guardians and avengers of the ſacred rites of hoſpitality, to puniſh him, he drank up the poiſon and died.

Such was the end of the two greateſt men of their age, who both fell by the jealouſy of their enemies, and experienced the ingratitude of their country.

### *The war againſt Perſeus the laſt King of Macedon.*

Perſeus had ſucceeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, and twenty years were now paſſed ſince the peace made with Antiochus.

The

[r] The Romans having long diſſembled ſeveral cauſes of diſcontent they had againſt Perſeus, reſolved at laſt to make war upon him, unleſs he gave them ſatisfaction. [s] This Prince had neither honour nor religion, and made no ſcruple to employ calumny, murder and poiſon, for the attainment of his ends. Blinded and corrupted by the flatteries of his courtiers, he thought himſelf a great ſoldier, and capable of ſubduing the Romans. For which reaſon, he anſwered their deputies with ſuch haughtineſs and pride, as obliged them to declare war againſt him upon the ſpot. Some ſmall ſucceſſes in his firſt campaign ſerved only to make him the more adventurous. [t] However he followed the counſel which was given him, which was to make the beſt uſe of the advantage he had gained in a battle, in order to obtain more favourable conditions of peace, rather than to hazard all upon an uncertain hope. He therefore made the [u] conſul very advantageous offers. [w] In the council of war, which was held upon this occaſion, the Roman conſtancy prevailed. The character of the nation in thoſe times was to ſhew great courage and magnanimity under misfortunes, whilſt they valued themſelves upon their moderation in proſperity. The anſwer therefore to the King was, that he had no peace to expect, but by ſubmitting entirely to the diſcretion of the Roman people, and leaving the decision of his fate to them. [x] All hope of accommodation being at an end, both ſides prepared for continuing the war. [y] The new conſul entered Macedonia, and marched to attack the King in his own country. However, as the affair was of much longer

[r] Liv. Flor. l. 3. n. 25—31.

[s] [illegible] clariſſima [illegible] Commaceve[illegible] Liv. l. 42. [illegible]

[t] [illegible] tor in caſum ſer vocabiem ſe daret. Liv. l. 42. n. 62.

[u] Paul. Emilius.

[w] Romani [illegible] vit in [illegible] Liv. [illegible] ſtrenue [illegible] ſtrong [illegible] ſtrong [illegible] ſtrong

duration than had been expected, the Romans grew very uneaſy.

[y] Paulus Æmilius being choſen conſul, and the war againſt Perſeus committed to his care, they conceived better hopes, and he put himſelf into a condition not to deceive them. Before his departure, he thought proper to make a ſpeech to the people, wherein he beſought them not to give credit to any flying reports, that ſhould be rumoured againſt his conduct. That there was a kind of idle unexperienced men, who could make war in their cloſets at their eaſe, and if their views and ſchemes were not followed, were apt to cenſure the general in publick companies, and paſs ſentence upon him. That he did not refuſe to receive advice, but it muſt be from perſons that were upon the ſpot.

[z] When he arrived in Macedonia, and drew near the enemy, the troops full of ardour deſired to charge them immediately, and a young officer of great merit, named Naſica, preſſed him to lay hold of the opportunity, and not let an enemy eſcape, whoſe flights and precipitate retreats had given ſo much exerciſe to his predeceſſors. He commended the warmth of the young officer and the ſoldiers, but did not comply with their deſire. The march had been long and painful, in a very hot ſummer's day, and the army extremely fatigued with duſt, drought, wearineſs, and the exceſſive heat of the ſun. He therefore did not judge it convenient to engage his troops in a battle, fatigued and exhauſted as they were, againſt an enemy, who being freſh and lying ſtill were in full force.

[a] Some days after, they came to a battle. Paulus Æmilius ſhewed all the wiſdom and courage, that were to be expected from ſo experienced a commander. The long and obſtinate reſiſtance of the enemy, ſhewed they had not entirely degenerated from their ancient reputation. The great ſhock lay againſt the Macedonian phalanx, which was a kind of ſquare battalion

[y] N. 17—22. [z] N. 36. [a] N. 37—42. Plut. in vit. Æmil. Pauli.

thick

thick set with pikes and lances, and which it was almoſt impoſſible to break through; they were ſo accuſtomed to join all their bucklers together, and preſent a kind of iron wall to the enemy. Paulus Æmilius owned afterwards, that this brazen rampart, and that foreſt of pikes, had filled him with dread and aſtoniſhment; and though he put a good countenance upon it, he could not at firſt help feeling ſome doubts and uneaſineſs upon the ſucceſs of the battle. In ſhort, all his firſt line being cut to pieces, the ſecond was diſcouraged, and began likewiſe to give way. The conſul perceiving that the inequality of ground, obliged the phalanx to leave openings and intervals, divided his troops into platoons, and ordered them to throw themſelves into the void places of the enemies battle, and not attack them altogether in front, but by detachments, and at different places at the ſame time. This order timely given, gained the victory. The phalanx, thus ſeparated and disjoined, were no longer able to ſuſtain the efforts of the Romans. What followed was bloodſhed and ſlaughter, and it is thought there fell that day above twenty five thouſand men on the ſide of the Macedonians.

[b] Perſeus withdrew before the battle begun; after ſome vain efforts, he ſuffered himſelf to be taken priſoner, and ſurrendered to the conqueror; and this he did in ſo baſe and cowardly a manner, as drew upon him the contempt of all that ſaw it, inſtead of exciting their compaſſion, as might have been expected in ſuch a condition. [c] He was carried to Rome with his children, and ſerved to adorn the triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

[b] Lib. xlv. n. 43. [c] N. 40. Plut. in vit. Paul.

Good Advice.—If you don't intend to marry, keep away from calico. The moth that flutters about a tallow dip when lighted, is no surer to get scorched than is a verdant youth or rusty bachelor to fall into *Cupid's flame, if he begins to circumnavigate around a bit of dry goods on a dainty little maid.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

### Reflections.

I Queſtion whether the reader, when he ſees me touching upon war and politicks, will not be tempted to apply to me what Hannibal ſaid upon a like occaſion. It was at the time when he retired to Antiochus at Epheſus, [d] where every body ſtriving to entertain him agreeably, it was one day propoſed to him to hear a philoſopher called Phormio, who made a great noiſe in the city, and paſſed for a fine ſpeaker. He was ſo complaiſant as to go where he was deſired. The philoſopher ſpoke upon the duties of a general of an army, and the rules of the art military, and made a very long diſcourſe. The whole audience were charmed with his eloquence, and Hannibal was aſked what he thought of it. His anſwer, which he gave in Greek, was ill expreſſed in point of language, but full of a ſoldier-like liberty. "I have ſeen, ſays he, "many old men that wanted ſenſe and judgment; "but of all the old men that ever I ſaw, this is the "moſt ſenſeleſs and injudicious." How extravagant indeed muſt it have been in a philoſopher, who had never ſeen either camp or army, to attempt to entertain Hannibal with precepts concerning the art of war? I ſhould deſerve a like reproach, and perhaps more juſtly too, if the reflections I make were my own. But as I ſelect almoſt every one of them from the moſt learned men of antiquity, who were ſome of them very ſkilful and experienced in the art of war, I think myſelf very ſecure under the ſhadow of their great names.

My reflections ſhall turn upon two points. I ſhall firſt endeavour to point out the character, the virtues,

[d] Cic. lib. ii. de Orat. n. 75, 76

and,

and, as occaſion offers, the faults alſo of thoſe who have had the greateſt ſhare in the events I have ſpoke of, ſuch as Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, Paulus Æmilius, Antiochus, Philip and Perſeus. I ſhall then endeavour to explain the principles of the government and policy of the Romans, eſpecially in what relates to the manner of their conduct in the time of war, with reference to their citizens, their allies, and their enemies. And for all this, I cannot have a better authority, nor a ſurer guide than Polybius, who was an eye-witneſs of part of the events here treated, was familiarly acquainted with the great men who were the principal actors in them, ſtudied the character and conſtitution of the Roman people with a great deal of care, and ſerved as a guide and maſter to Livy, whoſe reflections I ſhall likewiſe make great uſe of.

## ARTICLE the FIRST.

*The different qualifications of the perſons ſpoke of in this third portion of Roman Hiſtory.*

WE here plainly ſee, that neither wealth, illuſtrious extraction, nor even the majeſty of a throne, make men truly valuable; and that, how gorgeous and dazzling ſoever all this vain ſplendor may be, it is entirely obſcured and effaced by real merit and ſolid virtue. What an idea does the hiſtory we have related leave us of the Princes it ſpeaks of?

### ANTIOCHUS *King of Syria.*

Without dwelling upon the other faults of this Prince, a ſingle circumſtance may lead us into a judgment

nent of his character. [e] Livy ſays, that the firſt degree of merit in a man who commands, is to be able of himſelf to act what is proper; that the ſecond is at leaſt to know when to follow good counſel; but to be able to do neither the one nor the other, is the mark of a little mind, without deſign, reflection, or prudence. Upon this principle, what muſt we think of Antiochus? He had undertaken a war againſt the moſt powerful, warlike, and ſucceſsful people in the world. Chance had brought Hannibal to his court, the greateſt general mankind had ever ſeen. In his long war againſt the Romans he had given proofs of his valour, prudence, and perfect ſkill in the art of war. To theſe great qualities he joined an inherent hatred of the Romans, and an earneſt deſire of revenging himſelf upon them. How ſerviceable muſt ſuch a man have been to a prince of the leaſt judgment?

Antiochus at firſt received Hannibal with great joy, and paid him all the honours due to a general of ſuch high reputation. In the council of war, which he called, Hannibal perſiſted in the opinion he had always had, that the Romans could not be conquered except in Italy. He ſupported his opinion with unanſwerable reaſons, and offered his ſervice to make a deſcent in Italy, whilſt the King ſhould continue in Greece, to perplex the Romans with the apprehenſion of a powerful diverſion. Antiochus did not diſapprove this advice. [f] But it was repreſented to him that he ought not to rely upon Hannibal; that he was an exile and a Carthaginian, whoſe fortune or genius might ſuggeſt to him a thouſand different projects every day; that beſides, the very reputation he had acquired in war, and which of courſe would follow him, was too great for a lieutenant; that the King ought to be the ſole

[e] Sæpe ego audivi milites, cum primum eſſe virum, qui ipſe conſulat quid in rem ſit; ſecundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipſe conſulere, nec alteri parere ſciat, cum extremi ingenii eſſe. Lib. xxii. n. 29.

The ſame thought occurs in Heſiod, Op. & Di. v. 291. in Herodotus, lib. vii. and in Cic. pro Cluent. n. 84.

[f] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 42.

head

head and general; that all mens eyes and attention should be fixed only upon him; whereas, was Hannibal employed, that ſtranger alone would have all the glory of their good ſucceſs.

This was enough to turn the head of Antiochus. It was taking him on his weak ſide. A mean jealouſy, the ſign and fault of little minds, ſtifled every other thought and reflection in him. He no longer ſet any value upon Hannibal, nor made any uſe of him. The event ſufficiently avenged the latter, and ſhewed how unfortunate it is for a Prince to lay open his heart to envy, and his ears to the poiſonous diſcourſe of flatterers.

## PHILIP *and* PERSEUS *Kings of Macedon.*

Theſe Princes, who ſat upon the throne of Macedon, which had formerly been ſo illuſtrious, and ſucceeded to the dominions of the elder Philip, and Alexander, two of the greateſt Princes that ever were, wretchedly ſupported the glory of their predeceſſors, and ſhewed that there is a great difference between reigning and being really a King.

[g] Philip, according to Polybius, had all the qualifications neceſſary in forming a great Prince, and executing great deſigns. To omit the advantages of his perſon, and an air of majeſty natural to him, he had a lively and diſcerning ſpirit, capable of the greateſt things, [h] a ſurpriſing grace in his diſcourſe, and a memory which let nothing eſcape him; a perfect knowledge in the art of war, with a courage and boldneſs that nothing could daunt. But all theſe fine qualities ſoon degenerated in him, and gave place to the moſt exceſſive vices, injuſtice, fraud, perfidiouſneſs, cruelty and irreligion, which, of the great

[g] Polyb. p. 329.

[h] It was in all probability, this talent that led him into a fault, which is blameable indeed in private perſons, but far more dangerous in Princes, and altogether unbecoming the dignity of a King; I mean the taking pleaſure in raillery and jeſting. Erat dicacior naturâ, quam regem decet; & ne inter ſeria quidem riſu ſatis temperans. Liv. lib. xxxii. n. 34.

Prince

rince he might have been, made him an inſupport-ble tyrant to his ſubjects.

His ſon Perſeus inherited only his faults, with the ddition of one vice peculiar to himſelf, I mean a rdid and inſatiable avarice. This paſſion, which the baſeſt and moſt unworthy of a Prince, he rried to an incredible exceſs. He ſuffered all the reat preparations, which had been made with ſo uch care, for the ſupport of the war againſt the omans, to be loſt and ruined for fear of drawing ertain ſums out of his coffers; and by that means verthrew the hopes the Macedonians had conceived rom them. From the ſame motive, he ſent back wenty thouſand ſelect troops, which he called in to is aſſiſtance, but could not reſolve with himſelf to ay in the manner agreed on. He broke his word lſo with Gentius King of the Illyrians, and thought himſelf very dexterous in amuſing him with the hopes of three hundred talents, which he refuſed to give him at laſt, though he might have hired with them all the forces of Illyria againſt the Romans. In which, as Plutarch obſerves, he did not ſhew himſelf the heir and imitator of Alexander the Great, or Philip, who by conſtantly practiſing this maxim, *That victory ſhould be purchaſed with money, and not money with victory*, ſubdued almoſt all the whole world.

We know what was his end. He beſought Paulus Æmilius not to make him a ſpectacle to the Romans, and ſpare him the diſgrace of being led in triumph; *the favour he aſks is in his own power*, replied the Roman; meaning that he had no more to do than kill himſelf; an action which in the darkneſs of Paganiſm was looked upon as the proof of a great ſoul. He could not reſolve to do this, and therefore adorned the triumph of his conqueror, and became an object of contempt to all the ſpectators, who ſcarce thought fit to caſt their eyes upon him. All the compaſſion fell upon his children, who were the

more deſerving of pity, as their tender years did not allow them as yet to be fully ſenſible of their misfortune.

## Paulus Æmilius.

This general was the ſon of the famous Paulus Æmilius, who fell in the battle of Cannæ. He lived in an age, ſays Plutarch, that abounded with great men, and took pains to be inferior to none of them. For the attainment of dignities, he did not ſtrive, as the cuſtom then was, to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his eloquence at the bar, or to gain the favour of the people by flattering condeſcenſions, though very capable of ſucceeding that way. He thought it his duty to proceed by a more honourable and worthy method, to recommend himſelf by his valour, juſtice, and a firm adherence to every branch of duty, wherein he exceeded all the young men of his time.

Being admitted into the college of the augurs, he thoroughly ſtudied, and reformed the ancient practices of divine worſhip, upon a full perſuaſion, that nothing was more dangerous than innovation in matters of religion, and that negligence in ſmall matters leads to the violation of the moſt important rules.

He was no leſs exact and ſevere in reſtoring the obſervance of all the old regulations of military diſcipline, ſhewing himſelf terrible and inexorable to all thoſe who diſobeyed him, and [1] holding it for a maxim, that to conquer his enemies, was a neceſſary conſequence of carefully forming his citizens under a ſtrict diſcipline.

A very long interval of time, which paſſed between his two conſulſhips, gave him an opportunity of applying himſelf particularly to the education of his children. He put them under the care of the ableſt maſters in every kind, ſparing in this point for no

[1] Μικρῷ δεῖν πάρεργον ἡγούμενος δίωσιν τὰς πολίτας. Plut. τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦ παι-

expence,

xpence, though poſſeſſed but of a very moderate fortune. He aſſiſted in all their exerciſes as much as the publick affairs would give him leave, deſigning by his means to be himſelf their principal maſter, and leaving fathers (however engaged in buſineſs) this great example, of looking upon the education of their children, as the moſt eſſential part of their duty, and for this reaſon not entirely to be truſted to the care and integrity of others.

The great theatre, whereon the merit of Paulus Æmilius was diſplayed in its full luſtre, was Macedon. When obliged to accept of the conſulſhip, he began by requiring that commiſſioners of ability and underſtanding ſhould be diſpatched thither, who ſhould inform him from their own knowledg of the ſituation of the Macedonian affairs, of the number and quality both of the Roman and the enemies troops by ſea and land, of the ſtate of the proviſions, magazines and arſenals, of the diſpoſition of the cities, in a word, of every thing that concerned the army, without[k] which it was impoſſible to take juſt meaſures. It was one of the important inſtructions, which Cambyſes King of Perſia gave his ſon Cyrus, when he ſet out for his firſt campaign, never to enter on any enterprize, without being firſt ſecure of all the means and helps that were requiſite to make it ſucceed.

We have already obſerved, that Naſica very much preſſed Paulus Æmilius to fall upon the enemy, as ſoon as he was arrived near the Macedonian camp, under an apprehenſion leſt the enemy ſhould eſcape from his purſuit. He was by no means offended at the liberty which this officer took in this remonſtrance. It was a great principle with him, and he declared as much when he left Rome, that a commanding officer ſhould hearken to advice more than any man. [n] "I am far, ſaid he to them, from thinking that

[k] Ex his bene cognitis certa in [illegible] capi poſſe ratus. Liv. lib. xliv. n. 19.

[l] Xenophon, lib. i. Cyr. ped.

[m] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 22.

" generals ſhould not receive advice; on the other " hand, I am perſuaded there is more pride than " wiſdom in attempting to do every thing of one's " own head." He therefore anſwered this young officer in a very obliging manner. " [n] I have for- " merly, ſaid he to him, thought as you think at " preſent, and you alſo will one day think as I do " now: experience has taught me when it is proper " to engage, and when to decline fighting. You " ſhall know at a proper time the reaſons of my " conduct; at preſent rely upon your general." It is a pleaſure to me to quote ſuch paſſages as theſe, as they ſeem very proper to teach young perſons how to behave themſelves, and particularly to avoid thoſe airs of inſolence and pride towards their inferiors, in which authority and greatneſs are often improperly made to conſiſt, and alſo to receive the advice that is given them with docility and politeneſs.

A man that has but little underſtanding, is full of his own opinions, and the more ſhallow his conception, the leſs docile he is. [o] He thinks that an attempt to give him advice, is reproaching him with the want of ability; and he takes offence as if injured from another's not ſeeming convinced, that as he is the higheſt in authority, he is alſo of the moſt diſcerning capacity. A man of a ſuperior genius is in a quite different way of thinking. He knows that an expreſſion of another ſometimes gives a great inſight into an affair. He is always ready to hear whatever is propoſed, to ſet a juſt value upon all that is laid before him, and to compare it with his own reaſons; and in this he makes a right underſtanding and judgment conſiſt.

We may obſerve in the deſcription of the battle, which put an end to the Macedonian war, as [p] Polybius has done in ſeveral places, that wiſdom and

[n] Ibid. n. 36.

[o] Ne alienæ ſententiæ indigens videretur, in diverſa ac deteriora tranſibat. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. c. 10.

[p] Polyb. p. 35, 37.

temper

temper are the proper qualifications of a general, eſpecially in the heat and fury of a battle, and that the victory does not depend upon the hundred thouſand arms which make up an army, but upon the head of the general. Thus, we ſee in the battle we are ſpeaking of, that the timely orders given by the general, to throw themſelves into the vacant ſpaces of the Macedonian phalanx, and attack it only in ſmall bodies, ſaved the Roman army, and gained the victory. It is to ſuch paſſages as theſe, that Polybius would have a reader be principally attentive; and rightly obſerves, that one of the ſureſt means of obtaining perfection in the knowledge of the art of war, is to ſtudy the actions and genius of the great men who have made a figure in hiſtory.

The uſe which Paulus Æmilius made of his victory and leiſure, is a great example to generals, governors of provinces, and all perſons in authority, and teaches them how to make a proper uſe of their power, grandeur and command. He took that opportunity, ſays the hiſtorian, to viſit Greece, and paſſing through the cities, placed his whole delight in relieving the people, reforming diſorders, and diffuſing his liberality wherever he went; an employment, adds the ſame hiſtorian, alike benevolent and glorious, and which could proceed only from a ſurprizing fund of humanity; Διαſωγὴν ἔνδοξον ἅμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

Upon his return from Greece, he celebrated the publick games, to which he invited the people and Kings of Aſia, and gave them a ſumptuous entertainment, ſupplying that great expence abundantly out of the King's treaſures, as Plutarch ſays, but deriving only from himſelf the good order obſerved in it. But what principally was admired, was his politeneſs, and agreeable and engaging manner of behaviour, his care to treat every one according to their rank, and to oblige all, who could ſcarce comprehend how it was poſſible for a man that was qualified for ſuch great things to make ſuch a figure in

ſmall ones. But the moſt pleaſing effect of his magnificence was to ſee, that amidſt ſo many curioſities and ſpectacles that were capable of attracting their eyes, they found nothing ſo deſerving their attention and admiration as himſelf. It was upon this occaſion, as they were commending with aſtoniſhment the elegant diſpoſition of his entertainment and diverſions, that he let fall theſe remarkable words, "That the "ſame turn of mind ſuggeſted how to draw up an "army in the field, and diſpoſe an entertainment, ſo "as to make the one formidable to the enemy, and "the other agreeable to the gueſts."

What I have here related of the polite, noble, and inſinuating behaviour of Paulus Æmilius, is highly glorious for a general, and contains a great leſſon for all who govern. The language of favour and obliging manners is heard by all mankind, that of merit is not ſo univerſal. It is not poſſible to beſtow benefits upon all: his ſtock muſt be exhauſted who is always giving: But goodneſs, humanity and juſtice are perpetual and general benefits, whoſe ſource is never dry, and from which no perſon whatſoever is excluded. It is a great advantage to have an happy genius improved by ſtudy and reflection, a fruitful and inexhauſtible variety of charms and graces for all ſorts of men in every condition, and of every character. [q] To know how to apply them, to blend and diverſify them, that every one may find ſomething in them wherein himſelf is concerned; to diſpenſe the common marks of goodneſs and affection to all, by carrying an agreeable [r] air in the countenance, which by a kind of mute but publick eloquence, wins and charms whoever has to do with it; ſuch gentle and popular behaviour, inſtead of being injurious to the dignity of great men,

[q] Apud ſubjectos, apud proximos, apud collegas, variis illecebris poteus; *ſays Tacitus, ſpeaking of Mucianus governor of Syria.* Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 10.

[r] Vultu, qui maximè populos demeretur, amabilis. Sen. de Clem. Lib. i. cap. 13.

ſerves

ſerves to exalt and render it more eſtimable. * *Comitate & alloquiis officia provocans incorrupto diis honore*, ſays Tacitus, ſpeaking of the moſt amiable Prince that ever was.

We cannot too often make youth read the beautiful diſcourſes which Livy and Plutarch put into the mouth of Paulus Æmilius, after his victory, which teaches us how a Prince ſhould bear bad fortune, and what reflections we ought to make in great proſperity. I ſhall here give a part of them.

† Perſeus, when he appeared for the firſt time before his conqueror, threw himſelf in an humble poſture at his feet, and dropt ſeveral cowardly expreſſions, and unworthy ſupplications, which Paulus Æmilius could neither ſuffer nor hear, but looking upon him with a countenance full of ſorrow and indignation: "Wretch "that you are, ſays he to him, why do you acquit "fortune of the greateſt reproach you could throw "upon her, or why juſtify her by ſuch actions, as "ſhew that you deſerve your misfortunes, and have "been unworthy of your paſt proſperity? Why do "you degrade my victory, and ſully the glory of "my actions, by ſhewing yourſelf ſo mean, that "the Romans cannot but bluſh at their having ſuch "an adverſary? Learn then, that virtue in misfor-"tune attracts the reſpect of its enemies, and that "meanneſs of ſpirit, how ſucceſsful ſoever it may be, "acquires only contempt from the Romans." However he raiſed him up, and giving him his hand, committed him to the cuſtody of Tubero.

He then returned to his tent with his ſons, his ſons-in-law, and ſome young officers of his army, where, after he had reflected ſome time, without ſpeaking; at laſt breaking ſilence, "Is it poſſible, "ſays he, my children, that a man ſhould be ſo "far blinded by proſperity as to ſwell with pride, "and ſet a value upon himſelf for having conquered

* Hiſt. Lib. v. cap. 1. † Plut.

" nations, ruined cities, and ſubdued kingdoms? " Can we think, after the great example that for- " tune has juſt given all ſoldiers of the inconſtancy " of human affairs, that there is any thing permanent " and ſolid in her greateſt favours? At what time " can we flatter ourſelves that we are ſecure, ſince " we have frequently the moſt to fear in the very " moment of victory; and the fatal deſtiny which " overthrows one to-day and another to-morrow, in " the very height of joy often prepares for us the " ſevereſt diſgraces? When a few minutes have ſuf- " ficed to pull down the throne of Alexander, who " had attained the higheſt degree of power, and ſub- " jected the greateſt part of the world; and we now " ſee his ſucceſſors, who but a while ago were en- " compaſſed with formidable armies, reduced to the " neceſſity of receiving their bread every day from " the hands of their enemies; ſhall we preſume to " believe our good fortune conſtant and durable, " and ſuperior to the viciſſitudes of the world? for " you, my children, the uncertainty of what the " Gods prepare for us, and of the iſſue of a fortune " that now ſmiles upon us, ſhould moderate the ex- " ceſſes of joy and inſolence of heart, which are the " natural conſequences of victory."

Theſe laſt words were a kind of preſage and prediction of the misfortunes which hung over his head. In ſhort, of the four ſons which Paulus Æmilius had, the two eldeſt, by the firſt marriage, named Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families; and of the two others, which were the hopes of his, the one died four days before his triumph, and the other three days after it. There was no perſon whatever but was inwardly affected with ſo mournful an accident, and let fall ſome tears at the fate of the unhappy father. Paulus Æmilius alone, ſuppreſſing his grief, expreſſed a conſtancy which he made appear ſtill greater than ever. He told the people, that terrified with reflecting upon ſuch unheard-of ſucceſs, and expecting

pecting ſome great reverſe of fortune, he had beſought the Gods to let it rather fall upon his family than upon the republick. Fortune, added he, by "placing my triumph between the funerals of my "two children, as though ſhe meant to divert her-"ſelf with human events, fills me indeed with trou-"ble and ſorrow, but aſcertains a full ſecurity to my "country, having emptied all her quiver upon me. "She has taken a pleaſure in expoſing the conqueror "and the conquered alike, as a ſpectacle to all man-"kind; with this difference however, that the con-"quered Perſeus has ſtill his children, the conqueror "Paulus Æmilius none remaining. But the publick "happineſs alleviates my grief for my domeſtick miſ-"fortunes."

It is eaſy to judge how greatly ſuch a citizen, ſo full of love and zeal for his country, was lamented after his death. It was then they knew how far he had carried the generous contempt he always expreſſed for riches, which might be called his prevailing virtue. This great man, who was deſcended from one of the nobleſt and moſt ancient families of Rome, deſcended of a houſe that had been honoured with the higheſt offices and employments; this conqueror of Macedon, [u] who by the immenſe ſpoils which he brought from thence had long enriched the publick [w] treaſury, left no other wealth to his children, than the ancient and moderate patrimonial eſtate which he had received from his anceſtors, without having increaſed it, ſays Plutarch, ſo much as by a ſingle drachma.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the ancient Romans: Nor was this noble diſintereſtedneſs the virtue of Paulus Æmilius alone, but that of his whole family, and I might add, of almoſt all the great men of his time. When he had made himſelf maſter of the prodi-

[u] Bis millies centies HS. ærario contulit. Vell. Paterc. Lib. i. cap. 9. This ſum might amount to five and twenty millions of the French money.

[w] The people of Rome were diſcharged from all taxes till the war between Anthony and Octavius. Plut.

gious treaſures which Perſeus had ſcraped together, all the preſent he gave his ſon-in-law Tubero was a ſilver cup of five ounces weight. Plutarch obſerves, that this cup was the firſt piece of ſilver plate that came into the Ælian family, and it was neceſſary that virtue and honour ſhould introduce it at laſt.

## Fabius Maximus.

[x] Polybius admirably deſcribes the character of Fabius in few words; when relating what he thought of him after the great action by which he ſaved Minucius his rival and enemy, he ſays, that the Romans then evidently ſaw how great an advantage the prudence of a general, and a firm and well-grounded judgment have over the raſhneſs and ſenſeleſs preſumption of a meer ſoldier. What indeed is principally to be admired in Fabius, and properly conſtitutes the general, are a prudent foreſight, profound reaſoning, a plan purſued, a deſign formed, not raſhly, but upon fixed and certain principles, στρατηγικὴ πρόνοια, καὶ λογισμὸς νενεχὴς; upon which quality, [y] Polybius in another place makes the ſucceſs of great actions to depend; ἐὰν σὺν νῷ τις πράττῃ τὸ προῃρεθὲν; and which Fabius himſelf ſays ought to be the prevailing virtue in a general, [z] *propediem effecturum, ut ſciant homines, bono imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti eſſe, mentem rationemque dominari.*

To this firſt virtue Fabius added a ſecond ſtill more peculiar to him, which was a firm adherence to the reſolution he had once taken upon good reaſons, a conſtancy which no future accident was capable of ſhaking, λογισμὸς ἑστώς. And Plutarch expreſſes himſelf almoſt in the ſame terms, by ſaying, that Fabius conſtantly perſiſted in his firſt deſigns and reſolutions, nor could any thing alter his ſteadineſs. Hannibal, who was a good judge of merit and military know-

x Pag. 255. y Pag. 551. z Liv. lib. xxii. n. 25.

ledge,

ledge, ſoon did juſtice to Fabius, and began to fear, [a] ſays Livy, when he ſaw that the Romans had ſent a general againſt him, who made war not by accident, but by principle and rule; *qui bellum ratione non fortunâ gereret.*

To comprehend aright the prudence of Fabius, we muſt take a view of the condition of the two armies. Hannibal had twice beaten the Romans. His troops, full of ardour and courage, were eager for battle. They were in an enemy's country, in want of money and proviſions, their numbers daily decreaſing, and all communication with Carthage cut off, ſo that they could have no ſupplies from thence. And thus their only refuge lay in victory. As for the Romans, the two preceding defeats had almoſt entirely diſcouraged them, and they were afraid to look the Carthaginians in the face. To lead them to battle in this diſpoſition, was in effect to carry them to ſlaughter. It was neceſſary by ſlight ſkirmiſhes to diſpel their fears gradually, to reſtore their courage, to fill them with confidence, and enable them to ſupport their ancient reputation. Beſides they wanted for neither proviſions nor troops, and had ſupplies of every thing ready at the proper times. And this led Fabius to the wiſe reſolution of not hazarding a battle, ϛραϖηγικὴ ϖρόνοια ϗ λογισμὸς ἀνεχής.

But what ſteadineſs of ſoul had he not occaſion for in perſevering conſtantly in this reſolution! His enemies make a jeſt of him; his own officers and ſoldiers inſult him; Rome in general declares againſt him, by making the general of his horſe equal to him in authority in an unprecedented manner. Yet all does not move him. He continues firm as fate. Thoſe railleries, inſults and injurious treatment are no arguments, nor make any alteration in the ſituation of affairs; and before he changes his plan he muſt be convinced by reaſon; λογισμὸς ἐϛώς.

[a] Lib. xxii. n. 23.

The ſucceſs fully juſtified his conduct. The juſtice his citizens and his very enemies afterwards paid him, was a ſufficient recompence for all the reports they had vented againſt him. And by conſenting to paſs but a ſmall time for a coward, he has deſerved to be conſidered by all ſucceeding times, as the wiſeſt and moſt prudent general that Rome ever produced.

Thus he made good the truth of what Livy ſays upon another occaſion, that a ſeaſonable contempt of glory is repaid with uſury and advantage. [b] *Spreta in tempore gloria etiam cumulatior redit.*

But what I think moſt admirable in Fabius is, the noble and generous manner of his behaviour towards a declared enemy, from whom he had received the moſt ſenſible affront: An action great indeed, as Plutarch obſerves, and wherein valour, prudence, and goodneſs were equally diſplayed. He might have let Minucius periſh on the occaſion into which his own raſhneſs had engaged him, and have puniſhed him by the hands of his enemies for the affront he had received from him. Theſe would have been the ſentiments of a little genius and a mean ſoul. Fabius flies to the aſſiſtance of his rival, and extricates him from his danger. Let us compare the glory which Fabius acquired by this action, the joy he felt in having ſaved the republick, the pleaſure of ſeeing his enemy at his feet, acknowledging his fault, and the whole army ſaluting him their deliverer and father, with the baſe and ſhameful ſatisfaction of a revengeful perſon, who ſacrifices every thing, and even the publick, to his reſentment.

The conduct of Fabius towards Scipio does not appear ſo blameleſs and noble; and it is difficult to acquit his conſtant oppoſition to the deſign that young Roman had formed of carrying the war into Africa from all mixture of jealouſy. There is reaſon to believe, ſays Plutarch, that he firſt oppoſed Scipio

[b] Liv. il. n. 47.

through

through an exceſs of prudence and precaution, as being alarmed at the danger, to which he thought the republick was likely to be expoſed; but that afterwards he too obſtinately perſiſted in it, and went farther than he ought, inſtigated by an immoderate emulation to check the glory and greatneſs of a young general that gave him umbrage.

There are ſeveral reaſons to believe, that Fabius in this diſpute acted more from paſſion than reaſon. He had at firſt uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage Craſſus the collegue of Scipio in the conſulſhip, to inſiſt upon his right of taking the provinces by lot, according to the cuſtom; not voluntarily to give up to Scipio the command of the army in Sicily, and to be in readineſs to paſs himſelf into Africa, if it ſhould be at laſt judged convenient. Not being able to ſucceed in this firſt attempt, he employed all his intereſt to prevent the funds neceſſary for the war from being aſſigned to Scipio; and when afterwards Scipio's enemies, whilſt he was in Sicily, laid their complaints againſt him before the ſenate, Fabius, without any examination, very injuriouſly and extravagantly adviſed to recal him immediately and deprive him of the command. Theſe complaints however were found to have no foundation. And laſtly, when Scipio was paſſing into Africa, and Rome rung of his glorious actions and victories, the language and conduct of Fabius was ſtill the ſame, and he was not aſhamed to demand that a ſucceſſor might be ſent him, and for no other reaſon, ſays Plutarch, but this, *That it was dangerous to confide matters of ſuch conſequence to the fortune of a ſingle man, and that it was difficult for one and the ſame general to be always alike ſucceſsful.*

It cannot be denied but that Fabius was one of the greateſt men that the Roman republick ever produced, but theſe inſtances of jealouſy and envy againſt the infant glory of a young warrior of ſuch hopes, are a blot in his reputation, and a ſenſible proof of what we have elſewhere advanced, that nothing is ſo

rare, nor at the ſame time more heroick, than to behold unmoved, or even with joy, the glorious actions and good ſucceſſes of ſuch as are engaged in the ſame purſuits with ourſelves. A much greater degree of virtue was neceſſary in Fabius to defend himſelf againſt being jealous of a merit that might eclipſe his own, than was neceſſary in the caſe of Minucius for behaving with moderation towards his rival, over whom he found he had every advantage in point of merit.

## HANNIBAL *and* SCIPIO.

I have thought proper to join theſe two great men, and once more engage them in a war with each other, becauſe as both of them had virtues which were very much alike, by thus viewing them in the ſame light, it will be more eaſy to come at the knowledge of their characters, and to judge which of the two deſerves the preference. I do not attempt however to make an exact compariſon between them, but only to ſet down the principal circumſtances relating to both. In this parallel I ſhall examine their military, moral, and political virtues; that which forms the great general, and that which makes the honeſt man.

### I. *Military Virtues.*

#### 1. *Extent of mind for forming and executing great deſigns.*

I begin with this quality, becauſe properly ſpeaking it is that which makes great men, and has the largeſt ſhare in the ſucceſs of affairs; it is what Polybius calls, as I have already obſerved, [a] σὺν νῷ πράττειν τὸ προϊδεῖν. It conſiſts in having great views; in forming a plan at a diſtance; in propoſing an end and deſign, which is never out of ſight; in taking all the meaſures, and preparing all the means neceſſary

[a] Pag. 552.

to make it ſucceed; in knowing when to ſeize favourable occaſions, which are always on the wing, and never return; in introducing into this ſcheme even ſudden and unforeſeen accidents; in a word, in foreſeeing all that may happen, and in watching every thing without being embarraſſed or diſconcerted by any event. For as the ſame [d] Polybius obſerves, the concurrence of all the wiſeſt meaſures that can be concerted and executed, is ſcarce ſufficient to make a deſign ſucceed; whereas the omiſſion of one ſingle circumſtance, how ſlight ſoever it may appear, is often enough to prevent its ſucceſs.

Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio. Both formed great projects, bold and ſingular, of vaſt extent, long duration, capable of perplexing the ſtrongeſt head, but alone ſalutary and deciſive.

Hannibal diſcerned from the beginning of the war, that the only means of conquering the Romans was by attacking them in their own country. He diſpoſed of every thing that was neceſſary at a diſtance for the carrying on this great deſign. He foreſaw every difficulty, and every obſtacle. The paſſage of the Alps was no ſtop to his progreſs. So wiſe a commander, as [e] Polybius obſerves, would have been careful not to have engaged himſelf ſo far, if he had not been before aſſured that thoſe mountains were not impracticable. The ſucceſs anſwered his views; and we know with what rapidity he carried on his conqueſts, and how near Rome was brought to her deſtruction.

Scipio formed a deſign, which ſeemed no leſs bold, but met with better ſucceſs; and this was to fall upon the Africans in Africa itſelf. How many obſtacles ſeemed to oppoſe the purſuit of this project? Was it not natural, ſaid ſome, to defend his own country before he attacked that of the enemy, and to ſecure peace in Italy, before the war carried into Africa? What refuge would the empire have left, if the conqueror

[d] Pag. 552. [e] P. 201, 202.

Hannibal

Hannibal ſhould march againſt Rome? Would there then be time to recal the conſul to their aſſiſtance? What would become of Scipio and his army, if he loſt the battle? And what might not be apprehended from the Carthaginians and their allies, united together, and fighting for their liberties, in the ſight of their wives, their children, and their country? Theſe were the reflections of Fabius, which appeared very plauſible, but did not ſtop Scipio; and the ſucceſs of the enterprize ſhewed ſufficiently with what wiſdom it had been formed, and with what ability conducted; and it was viſible that in all the actions of this great man, there was nothing which aroſe from chance, but all was the effect of that ſolid reaſoning and conſummate prudence, which diſtinguiſh the couduct of the great captain from the caſual ſucceſſes of the meer ſoldier.

## II. *Profound Secrecy.*

One of the moſt certain means to make an enterprize ſucceed is ſecrecy; and [f] Polybius requires that a general ſhould be ſo impenetrable upon this article, that not only friendſhip, and the moſt intimate familiarity ſhould never be able to draw an indiſcreet word from him, but that it ſhould not be even poſſible for the moſt ſubtile curioſity to diſcover any thing of what he has in his mind, either in his countenance or his manner of behaviour.

The ſiege of Carthagena was the firſt enterprize of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the firſt ſtep to all his other conqueſts. He ſpoke of it only to Lælius, and intruſted him with it only, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary. It could be likewiſe only by ſilence and a profound ſecrecy, that another enterprize ſucceeded of ſtill greater importance, as it drew along with it the conqueſt of Africa, which was when

[f] P. 552.

Scipio

Scipio burnt the two camps by night, and cut in pieces both the armies of the enemy.

The frequent ſucceſſes which Hannibal had in laying ambuſcades for the Romans, and thereby deſtroying ſo many generals with their beſt troops, in concealing his marches from them, in ſurprizing them by unforeſeen attacks, in removing from one part of Italy to another, without finding any obſtacle on the enemy's part, are a proof of the profound ſecrecy with which he concerted and executed all his enterprizes. Subtlety, refined diſguiſe, and ſtratagem were his prevailing talents, and all this could only ſucceed by impenetrable ſecrecy.

III. *To know well the character of the generals againſt whom one is to engage.*

It is a great piece of ſkill, and an important part of the knowledge of war, to be thoroughly acquainted with the character of the generals who command the enemy's army, and to know how to take advantage of their faults. For, ſays Polybius, it is either the ignorance or negligence of commanders which makes the generality of enterprizes miſcarry. Hannibal poſſeſſed this ſcience to perfection, and it may be truly ſaid, that his continual attention to the genius of the Roman generals, was one of the principal cauſes which gained the battles of Trebia and Thraſimene. [s] He knew all that paſſed in the enemy's camp, as well as in his own. When Paulus and Varro were ſent againſt him, he was ſoon informed of the different character of thoſe two commanders, and of their diviſions, *diſſimiles diſcordeſque imperitari*; and he did not fail to make his advantage of the eagerneſs and impetuoſity of Varro, by laying baits for his raſhneſs, in ſuffering him to gain ſome ſlight advantages, which were followed by the famous overthrow at Cannæ.

[s] Omnia ei hoſtium haud ſecus, quàm ſua, nota erant. Liv, lib, xxii. n, 41. Nec quicquam eorum, quæ apud hoſtes agebantur, eum fallebat. Ib. n, 28.

The

The information Scipio had of the want of diſcipline in the enemy's camps, inſpired him with the thought of ſetting fire to them by night; the ſucceſs of which enterprize was followed with the conqueſt of Africa. [h] *Hæc relata Scipioni ſpem fecerant caſtra hoſtium per occaſionem incendendi.*

IV. *To keep up an exact diſcipline in the army.*

Military diſcipline is in a manner the ſoul of the army, which connects and unites all the parts of it together, which puts them in motion, or keeps them at reſt, as there is occaſion, which points out and diſtributes to each their proper functions, and contains them all within the bounds of duty.

It is allowed, that our two generals excelled in this particular; but it muſt be owned, that Hannibal's merit in this point, ſeems far ſuperior to Scipio's. [i] Thus it has always been looked upon as a maſter-piece in the art of war, that Hannibal, during ſixteen years war in a foreign land, at ſuch a diſtance from his own country, with ſuch various ſucceſs, at the head of an army made up, not of Carthaginians, but a confuſed body of ſeveral nations, who were neither united by cuſtoms, language, habits, arms, ceremonies, or ſacrifices, and had even very different objects of worſhip; that Hannibal, I ſay, ſhould have ſo united them together, that there never aroſe any ſedition, either among themſelves or againſt him, tho' proviſions were frequently wanting, and their pay often delayed. How neceſſary was it for a ſtrict diſcipline to be firmly eſtabliſhed, and inviolably obſerved among the troops, to obtain this effect?

[h] Lib. xxx. *n.* 3. [i] Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12.

*live after a plain, modeſt, frugal and laborious manner.*

a very ill taſte, and argues little elevation of
to make the grandeur of an officer or a general
in the magnificence of his equipage, furniture,
or table. How is it poſſible for ſuch trifles to
e military virtues? What elſe do they require
great riches? And are thoſe riches always
wards of merit, and the fruit of virtue? It
ame to reaſon and good ſenſe, it is a diſgrace
warlike a people as we are, to copy the man-
id cuſtoms of the Perſians, by introducing the
of cities into the camp and army. May
officer or commander better employ the time,
id expence, which all this apparatus neceſſarily
along with it, and does he not owe them to
untry? Commanders of old thought and acted
ery different manner.

y gives Hannibal an encomium which I am
ſeveral of our officers may have cauſe to bluſh at.
ere was no labour, ſays he, ſufficient to fatigue
body or ſink his ſpirits. He ſupported heat and
l equally. He eat and drank out of neceſſity
want, and not out of pleaſure. He had no
hour of going to reſt, but took that time for
p which was unemployed in buſineſs; neither
it ſuborned by ſilence, or the ſoftneſs of his
ch. He often lay upon the ground, wrapt up
ſoldier's coat, amidſt the centinels and guard.
was diſtinguiſhed from his equals, not by a greater
gnificence of dreſs, but by better horſes and arms."
ybius, after commending Scipio for the ſhining
s which were admired in him, ſuch as his li-
ty, magnificence, and greatneſs of ſoul, adds, that
who knew him thoroughly, no leſs admired
ſober and frugal life, which enabled him to

χίνης, καὶ νήπλης, καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ περὶ τὸ σχεδὸν ἀνέλαμπεν.
. 577.

apply

apply himself wholly to publick business. He was not very nice about his apparel, it was manly and military, and very suitable to his person, which was tall and majestick. [l] *Præterquam suapte naturâ multa majestas inerat, ad rubat demissa cæsaries habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis vere ac militaris.* What [m] Seneca relates of the simplicity of his baths and his country-house, shews us what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops.

It is by leading a sober and frugal life in this manner, that generals are enabled to discharge that part of their duty, which [n] Cambyses so carefully recommends to his son Cyrus, as extremely proper to encourage the troop, and make them love their officers, and that is to set an example of labour to the soldiers, by supporting like them, and even more than them, cold, heat, and fatigue; wherein, [o] he says, the difference will always be very great between the general and the soldier, as the labours of the last are attended only with pain, whereas the other in being exposed a spectacle to the eyes of the whole army, gains by it both honour and glory; motives that very much take off from the weight of the fatigue and render it lighter.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to discreet and well tempered mirth. [p] Livy, speaking of the honourable reception King Philip gave him, when he passed with his brother through his dominions, in their march against Antiochus, observes that Scipio was very much pleased with it, and admired the graceful and insinuating manners with which the King of Macedon in-

l Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 35.

m Senec. Epist. 86.

n Xenophon. in Cyrop. lib. 1.

o Itaque semper Africanus (*ille scilicet ad Scipionis*) Socraticum Xenophontium in manibus habebat: cujus imperatoris laudabat illud, quod diceret, eos, qui laborem non effugerent, neque graves imperatori & militi, quod ipse haberet laborem leviorem faceret imperatorum. Cic. lib. ii. Tusc. Quæst. n. 62.

p Venientes regio apparatu accepit, & prosecutus est Rex. Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; verum sicut ad cætera, egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuriâ esset, non aversum. Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 7.

proved

:oved his entertainment: Qualities, adds Livy, which iis illuſtrious Roman, who was in other reſpects ſo reat, very much eſteemed, provided they did not de-enerate into pomp and luxury.

VI. *To know equally how to employ force and ſtratagem.*

It is a juſt obſervation of Polybius, that in matter of war, fineſſe and ſtratagem are often more ſervice-ible than open force and declared deſigns.

This was Hannibal's excellency. In all his actions, enterprizes and battles, dexterity and cunning had ever the greateſt ſhare. [q] The manner in which he deceived the wiſeſt and moſt conſiderate officer that was ſent againſt him, by ſetting fire to the ſtraw that was tied round the horns of two thouſand oxen, to extricate himſelf from a falſe ſtep he had taken, may ſuffice alone to ſhew how dexterous Hannibal was in the ſcience of ſtratagems. [r] Scipio was no leſs acquainted with it; as we may learn from the circumſtance of his ſetting fire to the two camps of the enemy in Africa.

VII. *Never to hazard his perſon without a neceſſity.*

[s] Polybius lays it down as an eſſential and capital maxim for a commanding officer, that he ſhould never expoſe his perſon, when the action is not general and deciſive, and that even then he ſhould keep at as great a diſtance from danger as poſſible. He confirms this maxim by the contrary example of Marcellus, whoſe raſh bravery, which ill ſuited a general of his age and experience, coſt him his life, and had like to have ruined the republick. Upon this occaſion he obſerves that Hannibal, who, without doubt, can never be ſuſpected of fear, and too great a fondneſs for life, in all his battles was ever careful of the ſecu-

[q] Liv. lib. xxii. n. 16, 17.
[r] Lib. xxx. n. 3—6.
[s] Pag. 603.

rity

rity of his perſon; and [t] he makes the ſame rem of Scipio, who in the ſiege of Carthagena was obli to act in perſon, and expoſe himſelf to dang though he did it with the utmoſt prudence and cumſpection.

Plutarch, in the compariſon he draws between lopidas and Marcellus, ſays, that the wound or de of a general, ſhould not be a bare accident, bu means contributing to ſucceſs, and influencing the v tory and ſafety of the army; ἡ πάθος; ἀλλὰ πρᾶ And he laments, that the two great men he was ſpe ing of ſhould have ſacrificed all their other virt to their valour, in being laviſh of their blood lives, without a neceſſity, in dying for themſelv and not for their country, to which generals are accountable for their deaths, as for their lives.

## VIII. *Art and dexterity.*

It were neceſſary to be a profeſſed ſoldier to pe out, in the different engagements of Hannibal Scipio, their ability, addreſs, and preſence of mi their watchfulneſs to make an advantage of all motions of the enemy, of all the ſudden occaſions fered by chance, of all the circumſtances of time place, and, in a word, of all that might contribut the victory. I am very ſenſible that a ſoldier muſt t a great deal of pleaſure in reading the deſcriptior good authors of thoſe famous battles which have cided the fate of the univerſe, as well as the reputat of the great captains of antiquity; and that to ſt under ſuch maſters, and be able to improve as from their faults, as their good qualities, is a g means of attaining perfection in the art of war. ſuch reflections are beyond my power, and do not perly belong to me.

[t] Pag. 587.

IX.

***have the talent of ſpeaking and conciliating others to his purpoſes with addreſs.***

:e this quality amongſt the military virtues, be- general ſhould excel in every thing; and the , no leſs than the head and hand, is often a :y inſtrument for the diſcharging his duty as ht. 'Tis one of the things which Hannibal l moſt in Pyrrhus. [u] *Artem etiam conciliandi ſibi miram habuiſſe.* And he makes this talent o the perfect knowledge in the art of war, by Pyrrhus was moſt diſtinguiſhed.

udge of our two generals by their ſpeeches, as ins have preſerved them, they both excelled in :nt of ſpeaking. But I queſtion whether thoſe ins have not lent them a little of their own elo- :. Some very ingenious repartees of Hannibal, hiſtory has handed down to us, ſhew that he excellent wit, and that nature alone wrought what others attain by art and ſtudy. As to , he had a mind better improved, and though e was not altogether ſo polite as that of the Scipio Africanus, yet his intimate acquaintance he poet Ennius, with whom he choſe to lie bu- one common grave, gives us reaſon to believe e did not want a taſte for polite learning. How- [w] Livy obſerves, that upon his arrival in Spain e upon him the command of the troops, in the udience he gave the deputies of the province, he with a certain air of grandeur commanding re- and at the ſame time with ſo much ſimplicity erſuaſion, that without letting drop one ſingle ſſion that had the leaſt tincture of haughtineſs ride, he immediately calmed the fears of all , whom the view of paſt ills had kept under and diſquietude. [x] Upon another occaſion,

r. lib. xxxv. n. 14. [w] Lib. xxvi. n. 19. [x] Lib. xxviii. n. 18.

when

when Scipio had an interview with Aſdrubal, in the apartment of Syphax, the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, that Scipio could wind and turn them as he pleaſed, with ſo much dexterity, that he alike charmed his hoſt and his enemy with the force and turns of his eloquence. And the Carthaginian afterwards owned that this particular diſcourſe had given him a much higher idea of Scipio than all his victories and conqueſts, and that he did not queſtion but Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans, ſuch art and ability had Scipio to draw over others to his party. One ſingle fact like this is a ſufficient proof how uſeful it is to perſons deſigned for the army, carefully to cultivate the art of ſpeaking; and it is difficult to comprehend, why officers, who in other reſpects have great talents for war, ſhould ſometimes ſeem to be aſhamed of knowing any thing more than their own profeſſion.

### *The concluſion.*

It would be proper here to give a judgment, whether Hannibal or Scipio excelled moſt in military virtues. But ſuch a deciſion is beyond my ability. I have heard ſay, that in the opinion of good judges, Hannibal was the moſt conſumate general that ever was in the knowledge of war; and that the Romans attained perfection in his ſchool, after having ſerved their firſt apprenticeſhip in that of Pyrrhus. It muſt be owned, no general ever ſucceeded better in the choice of ground for drawing up an army, or in putting his troops upon the ſervices for which they were moſt ſuited, or in laying an ambuſcade, or providing a remedy under misfortune, or in maintaining diſcipline among ſo many different nations. He drew from himſelf alone, the ſubſiſtence of his troops, the pay of his ſoldiers, the remounting of his cavalry, the recruits of his foot, and all the neceſſary ammunition for maintaining a heavy war in a diſtant country,

gainſt a powerful enemy, for the ſpace of ſixteen ſucceſſive years, and in ſpite of a powerful faction at Rome, which refuſed him every thing, and croſſed him in all his enterprizes. Thus he may certainly be called a great general.

I own too, that in making a juſt compariſon of Hannibal's deſign with Scipio's, the deſign of Hannibal muſt be allowed to be more bold, hazardous, difficult, and deſtitute of all reſources. He was obliged to march through Gaul, which he was to look upon as an enemy's country, to paſs the Alps which had been thought unſurmountable by any other, to fix the theatre of the war in the midſt of an enemy's country, and in the very boſom of Italy, where he had no ſtrong places, no magazines, no certainty of ſuccour, nor any hopes of retreat. Add to this that he attacked the Romans at the time of their greateſt vigour, when their troops, quite freſh and animated with the ſucceſs of the preceding war, were full of courage and confidence. As for Scipio, he had but a ſhort paſſage to make from Sicily into Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was maſter at ſea. He kept up a free communication with Sicily, from whence he was ſupplied with his ammunition and proviſion whenever he pleaſed. He attacked the Carthaginians at the cloſe of a war, wherein they had ſuffered great loſſes, at a time when their power was already upon the decline, and they began to be exhauſted of money, men and courage; Spain, Sardinia and Sicily had been taken from them, and they could no longer make any diverſion there againſt the Romans. Aſdrubal's army was lately cut to pieces, and Hannibal's was extremely weakened by ſeveral ſhocks it had received, and an almoſt general want of neceſſaries. All theſe circumſtances ſeem to give Hannibal a great advantage over Scipio.

But there are two difficulties ſtill to be got over, the one drawn from the generals he conquered, and the other from the faults he committed.

May

May not the victories which have rendered the name of Hannibal ſo famous, be properly ſaid to be as much owing to the imprudence and raſhneſs of the Roman generals, as to his own valour and wiſdom? When they ſent a Fabius againſt him, and then a Scipio, the firſt put a ſtop to his progreſs, and the other overcame him.

The two faults which Hannibal committed in not marching immediately to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and ſuffering his ſoldiers to be corrupted and enervated at Capua, are likewiſe ſuppoſed to take off very much from his reputation. For theſe faults may be reckoned eſſential, deciſive and irreparable, and both of them contrary to the principal quality of a general, which is capacity and judgment. As for Scipio, I do not know, that during the whole time he commanded the Roman army, he was chargeable with any thing like this.

I do not therefore wonder, that Hannibal in the judgment he gave of the moſt accompliſhed generals, after having aſſigned the third place to himſelf after Alexander and Pyrrhus, and Scipio aſking him what would he ſay then if he had conquered him? I do not wonder that he ſhould reply, "I would then have "taken place of Alexander and Pyrrhus, and of all "the generals that have ever been." [y] A fine flattering encomium in favour of Scipio, whom he diſtinguiſhed from every other commander, as being ſuperior to them all, and not proper to be brought into compariſon with any.

## § II. *Moral and civil virtues.*

Here Scipio triumphs, whoſe goodneſs, mildneſs, moderation, [illegible] juſtice, chaſtity, and religion are juſtly boaſted of. Here, I ſay, we have his

y Et per[illegible] è rege ſe imperatorum velut inæſ-
ſpon[illegible] timabilem fecreviſſet. Liv. lib.
tioni.[illegible] xxxv. n. 14.

triumph,

umph, or rather the triumph of virtue, which is far preferable to all the victories, conqueſts and gnities in the world. 'Tis a beautiful expreſſion f Livy, when ſpeaking of the deliberation of the ſe- ate, that was aſſembled to determine which of the lomans was the man of the greateſt probity. [y] *Haud arvæ rei judicium ſenatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in ivitate eſſet. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei ſibi quiſ- que mallet quàm ulla imperia, honoreſve ſuffragio ſeu patrum ſeu plebis delatos.*

The reader will not much heſitate here, in whoſe favour he ought to declare, eſpecially if he conſul s the frightful deſcription which [z] Livy has left us of Hannibal. "His great virtues, ſays this hiſtorian, "after he had given an encoumium of him, were "equalled by moſt enormous vices; inhuman cruelty, "a more than Carthaginian perfidy, no regard for "truth, nor any reverence for what was moſt ſacred. "He had no fear of the Gods, no reſpect for oaths, "nor any religion." *Has tantas viri virtutes ingen- tia vitia æquabant; inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil ſancti; nullus deum metus, nul- lum jusjurandum, nulla religio.*

We have here a ſtrange portrait, but I queſtion whether truly copied after nature, and whether preju- dice has not in ſome meaſure drawn it in too black co- lours. For the Romans in general may be ſuſpected of not doing the juſtice to Hannibal that was due to him, and of ſaying a great many ill things of him, be- cauſe he did a great many to them. Neither Poly- bius nor Plutarch, who have frequent occaſion to ſpeak of Hannibal, charge him with the horrid vices that Livy imputes to him. The very facts related by Livy contradict the character he has given of him. To take notice only of one ſingle imputation, *Nullus deûm metus, nulla religio*, there is proof to the contrary. Be- fore he ſet out from Spain he took a journey to Ca- diz to diſcharge the vows he had made to Hercules,

[y] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 14. [z] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 4.

and made new ones to him, in caſe that God wo favour his enterprize. [a] *Annibal Gades profectus, I culi vota exſolvit, noviſque ſe obligat votis, ſi cæ proſperè eveniſſent.* Is this ſtep like the proceedi of a man without religion, or the fear of the Go What could oblige him to leave his army to under ſo tedious a pilgrimage? If it was hypocriſy to imp upon a ſuperſtitious people, it would have been m advantageous to him to have put on this maſk of r gion in the ſight of all his troops aſſembled toget as the Romans did in their luſtrations of their arm [b] Preſently after Hannibal has a viſion, which he lieves is ſent from the Gods to declare to him what to happen, and the event of his enterprize. He ſeveral years near the rich temple of Juno Laci and not only took nothing from it in the moſt preſ neceſſities of his army, but was alſo ſo careful of though it ſtood without the town, that none of ſoldiers ever ſtole any thing from it; and even there a magnificent monument before his depart out of Italy. He paid the ſame reſpect to all ot temples; and we no where read, [c] as I rememb that his troops ever plundered any in the confuſion a war, diverſified by ſo many events. [d] He evide acknowledged the power of the Deity, when he clared that the Gods ſometimes took from him the clination, and ſometimes the power of taking Ro [e] In the treaty he made with Philip, having firſt peated to the God as witneſſes, he plainly declares t he expected all the ſucceſs of his arms from their prot tion; [f] and laſtly, when he comes to die, he invoke the Gods, who are revengers of the breach of hoſpital All theſe facts and ſeveral others of a like nature, ſolutely overthrow the crime of irreligion, wh Livy lays to his charge. And the ſame may be ſai his perjuries and unfaithfulneſs in keeping of treat

[a] Liv. lib. xxi. n. 21.
[b] Ib n. 22.
[c] Lib. xxviii. n. 46.
[d] Lib. xxvi. n. 11.
[e] Lib. xxiii. n. 33. This cumſtance is mentioned by Ilybius.
[f] Lib. xxxix. n. 51.

I do not know that he ever he broke one, though the Carthaginians did, but without his being concerned in it. However, I ſhall not here draw a parallel between theſe two generals with reference to their civil and moral virtues. I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with relating ſome of thoſe, which were moſt eminent in Scipio.

### I. *Generoſity and Liberality.*

This is the virtue of great minds, as the love of money is the vice of the baſe and diſhonourable. Scipio underſtood the true value of money, which is to gain friends and buy mankind. The contributions which he made in a proper ſeaſon; the ranſoms he generouſly reſtored to thoſe who came to redeem their children or relations, gained him almoſt as many hearts as his victories. By this means he entered into the views and character of the Roman people, who choſe rather, as he expreſſes it himſelf, to oblige mankind by civility than fear; [s] *qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit.*

### II. *Goodneſs, Gentleneſs.*

All men cannot be partakers of our benefits, but we may expreſs our good inclination towards all. 'Tis a ſort of coin that ſeveral are ſatisfied with, and does not exhauſt the treaſury of the general.

Scipio had a wonderful talent in conciliating the inclinations and gaining the hearts of others by a civil and engaging behaviour.

He was very obliging to the officers, ſet a juſt value upon their ſervices, extolled their bravery, rewarded them with preſents or commendations, and behaved thus even towards thoſe who might have given him ſome jealouſy, had he been capable of it. He always honourably treated that famous officer Marcius, and kept him near his perſon, who after the death of

[s] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50.

his father and uncle, had supported the affairs of Spain; and thereby shewing, says the historian, how remote he was from any apprehensions of fear or distrust. [h] *Ut facilè appareret nihil minùs quam vereri ne quis obstaret gloriæ suæ.*

He knew how to temper even reprimands with such an air of kindness and cordiality, as rendered them amiable. [i] The rebuke he was obliged to give Masinissa, for giving way to a blind passion, in marrying Sophonisba, the declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect model of the manner of behaving and speaking upon such delicate conjunctures. We find in it all the refinements of eloquence, all the precautions of prudence and wisdom, all the regard of friendship, with all the dignity and noble superiority of command, without the least expression of haughtiness and pride.

His goodness distinguished itself even with chastisements. He never employed correction but once, and that much against his own inclination. 'Twas in the sedition of Sucrone, which necessarily required a publick example. "And then, he [k] said, it was "like tearing out his own bowels, when he found "himself obliged to expiate the fault of eight thousand, "by putting thirty to death." It is remarkable here, that Scipio does not make use of the words *scelus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxa*, which is far more gentle, and signifies a *fault*. He even does not go so far as to determine absolutely whether it was a fault, and he leaves room to think it only imprudence and folly, *octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam.*

He thought it far better to contribute to the preservation of a single citizen, than to kill a thousand of the enemy. [l] Capitolinus observes, that the Emperor

[h] Lib. xxvi. n. 20.

[i] Lib. xxx. n. 14.

[k] Tum se haud secus quàm viscera secantem sua, cum gemitu & lacrymis triginta hominum capitibus excisse octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam. Lib. xxviii. n. 32.

[l] Antoninus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, quâ ille dicebat, malle se unum civem servare, quàm mille hostes occidere. Capitol. c. 9.

Antoninus

Antonius Pius uſed frequently to repeat this maxim of Scipio, and put it in practice.

### III. *Juſtice.*

The exerciſe of this virtue is properly the function of perſons in high ſtation and authority. It was by this virtue that Scipio rendered the Roman government ſo gentle and agreeable to the allies and conquered nations, and made himſelf ſo tenderly beloved by the people, who conſidered him as their protector and father. He muſt have had a great zeal for juſtice, as he was ſo exact in ſhewing it to his very enemies, after an action which took away all pretenſions they could have to it. The Carthaginians during a truce, which was granted them at their earneſt entreaty, knowingly and by order of the republick, took and plundered certain Roman veſſels, that were put to ſea; and to make the inſult ſtill greater, the ambaſſadors, which were ſent to Carthage to complain of it, were ſet upon as they came back, and narrowly eſcaped being taken by Aſdrubal. The ambaſſadors of Carthage, as they were returning from Rome, fell into the hands of Scipio, who was very much preſſed to make reprizals. "No, "[m] ſays he, though the Carthaginians have not only "broke the truce, but have alſo violated the law "of nations in the perſons of our ambaſſadors, I "will not treat theirs in a manner unworthy either "the maxims of the Roman people, or the rules of "moderation I have hitherto conſtantly obſerved."

### IV. *Magnanimity.*

It ſhone out in all the actions of Scipio, and in almoſt all his words; but the people of Spain were more eſpecially affected with it, when he refuſed the title of

m. Etſi non induciarum modò fides à Carthaginienſibus, ſed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum eſſet: tamen ſe nihil nec inſtitutis populi Romani, nec ſuis moribus indignum in iis facturum eſſe. Lib. xxxiii. n. 25.

King, which they offered him upon being charmed with his valour and generoſity. They ſaw plainly, [a] ſays Livy, what a greatneſs of ſoul there was in thus looking down with diſdain upon a title, which is the higheſt object of admiration and deſire with the reſt of mankind.

[b] It was with the ſame air of grandeur, that when he was obliged to defend himſelf before the people, he ſpoke ſo nobly of his military expeditions, and inſtead of making a timorous apology in behalf of his conduct, he marched directly to the capitol, with all the people at his heels, to thank the Gods for the victories they had enabled him to gain.

## V. *Chaſtity.*

It is not eaſy to comprehend that a pagan ſhould have carried his love to this virtue ſo far as Scipio did. The ſtory of the beautiful young Princeſs, who was kept in his houſe with as much care as if ſhe had been in her father's, is known to all the world. I have related it in another place, as likewiſe the beautiful diſcourſe he made to Maſiniſſa upon the ſame ſubject.

## VI. *Religion.*

I have often quoted the famous diſcourſe of Cambyſes King of Perſia to his ſon Cyrus, which is deſervedly looked upon as containing an abridgment of the moſt uſeful inſtructions that can be given to a general of an army or miniſter of ſtate. This excellent diſcourſe begins and ends with the ſubject of religion, as if every other branch of advice were uſeleſs without this. Cambyſes recommends to his ſon, before all, and above all, religiouſly to diſcharge every duty that the Deity requires of men, never to undertake any en-

[a] Senſere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nominis alii mortales ſtuperent, id ex tam alto faſtigio aſpernantis. Lib. xxvi. n. 19.

[b] Lib. xxxviii.

terprize,

terprize, great or ſmall, without conſulting the Gods; to begin all his actions with imploring their aſſiſtance, and conclude them with giving them thanks, as all good ſucceſs ariſes from their protection, which no man can claim, and conſequently ought to be referred to them. And this, indeed, was conſtantly obſerved by Cyrus with the utmoſt exactneſs, as we have ſaid already in ſpeaking of this Prince; and he owns himſelf, in the diſcourſe from whence this is taken, that he entered upon his firſt campaign with a full confidence in the goodneſs of the Gods, becauſe he could truly give this teſtimony of himſelf, that he had never neglected their worſhip.

I know not whether our Scipio had read the Cyropædia, as it is certain the ſecond Scipio did, who made it his ordinary ſtudy; but it is viſible, that he exactly copied after Cyrus, and eſpecially in this point of religious worſhip. [p] From the time he took upon him the *Toga virilis*, that is, from his ſeventeenth year, he never entered upon any buſineſs, either publick or private, without going firſt to the capitol and imploring the aſſiſtance of Jupiter. [q] We have in Livy the ſolemn prayer he made to the Gods, when he ſet out from Sicily for Africa; and the ſame hiſtorian does not fail to obſerve, that immediately after the conqueſt of Carthagena, he publickly returned thanks to the Gods for the good ſucceſs of that enterprize. [r] *Poſtero die militibus navalibuſque ſociis convocatis, primum diis immortalibus laudeſque & grates egit.*

It is not our buſineſs here to enquire what the religion either of Cyrus or Scipio was. We know very well, that it could be no other than a falſe one. But the example that is given to all commanders, and in general to all mankind, of beginning and ending all their actions with prayers and thankſgiving, is of no leſs force. For what would they not have ſaid and

p Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 19.
q Lib. xxix. n. 27.
r Lib. xxvi. n. 48.

done, if like us they had been guided by the lights of true religion, and had enjoyed the happineſs of knowing the true God? After ſuch examples, how ſhameful would it be for Chriſtian generals to ſeem leſs religious than thoſe ancient commanders amongſt the pagans?

## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *The principal characters and virtues of the Romans with reſpect to war.*

THE ſpace of time, whereof I have abridged the hiſtory, and which Polybius choſe for his ſubject, was, as I have already obſerved, the flouriſhing times of the Roman republick, [1] which rendered Rome the miſtreſs of the univerſe, and forced all nations to own, that a people, ſo far ſuperior in merit and virtue, deſerved alſo the ſuperiority in power and authority. It was indeed, after this time, that the Roman power, which had contended with its neighbours for ſeveral ages, within a very narrow compaſs, ſpread itſelf abroad like a river, or a ſea which had broke its bounds, and over-run almoſt the whole three parts of the world with an incredible rapidity.

Plutarch, in a treatiſe entitled, *De fortunâ Romanorum*, gives a glorious deſcription of the grandeur of the Roman empire, of which it may not here be improper to give an abſtract. The moſt powerful nations of the world, ſays he, with their utmoſt endeavours, contending for univerſal empire, gave occaſion to an horrible confuſion in the univerſe, till ſuch time as the Roman republick uniting all people and kingdoms under her command, the whole took a firm ſituation, and a ſecure ſeat under a governmet, which taking

[1] Polyb. p. 160.

in

almoſt every part of the world, made them enjoy the fruits of peace and order under her ſhadow, by the adminiſtration of the great men ſhe produced, in whom every virtue ſhone forth.—After having obſerved that the rapidity, with which Rome extended her dominions, did not ariſe from men, but God, he goes on; Rome no more meaſures her victories by the multitude of the ſlain, the greatneſs of the ſpoil, or the number of conquered cities; her atchievements are never at an end, in ſubduing nations, in enſlaving kingdoms, in conquering great iſlands and vaſt regions. Nothing is ſeen there but triumphs upon triumphs, and conqueſts upon conqueſts. Philip is ruined by a ſingle blow. Another drives the great Antiochus out of Aſia. In the ſame year one month ſuffices for the conqueſt of Macedonia, another for ſubduing the kingdom of Illyria, and putting their two Kings to the ſword. [u] One of her generals only in the courſe of the ſame expedition, brings under ſubjection Armenia, Pontus, Syria, Paleſtine, Arabia, the Albanians and Iberians, and extends the bounds of her dominions as far as the Caſpian and Red Sea. And what is very remarkable, adds the ſame author, this happy genius of Rome has not favoured her only for a few days and a ſhort ſpace of time, nor merely either by ſea or land, nor after ſlow efforts and long delays, nor has ſuddenly forſaken her, as has happened in other empires, but born in a manner and grown up with Rome, has there taken and fixed her abode, has always preſided over her government, has ever regulated her conduct, and conſtantly procured her the moſt glorious ſucceſſes in war and peace, by ſea and land, againſt Greeks and Barbarians.

This eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire, the greateſt and moſt powerful that ever was, [w] Polybius ſays, was not the effect of chance, but the reſult of merit and virtue, the conſequence of deſigns wiſely concerted, valiantly executed, and carried on with unvariable

[u] Perſeus & Genius. [w] Pompey. [w] Pag. 64.



THE man that forgets a good deal that h happened, has a better memory than he remembers a great deal that never happen

attention and ability. It is therefore uſeful and important, [x] continues he, to enquire what were the principles of the victors conduct before and after the victory, the diſpoſition of the people in regard to them, and what was thought of thoſe who were at the helm of the republick.

We have already ſeen what the great men were, who during this interval contributed to the aggrandizing of the Roman empire; it now remains to conſider what was the genius and character of the Roman people.

We find it excellently deſcribed in [y] Salluſt. "We "muſt not think, ſays Cato, that our anceſtors in-"creaſed the power of Rome, in the manner they "did, by their numerous armies; they had other "advantages which made them truly great, and the "republick with them; at home a laborious life, "abroad a juſt and wiſe government, in deliberations "a ſpirit exempt from paſſion and vice;——in the "field as in the city, ſays the ſame hiſtorian in ano-"ther place, good morals and good principles chiefly "prevailed, and the abſolute dominion that juſtice "and virtue had over the Romans, roſe leſs from the "laws than their own natural diſpoſition. In fine, "they ſupported themſelves and the republick, by a "double means; in war by boldneſs and valour, in "peace by juſtice and moderation."

We muſt not conclude from what Salluſt ſays here of this happy period of the republick, or from what we ſhall hereafter ſay upon the ſame ſubject, that all the Romans, or even the greateſt number of them,

x Pag. 160.

y Nolite exiſtimare majores noſtros armis remp. ex parva magnam feciſſe. . . . Alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla ſunt; domi induſtria, foris juſtum imperium; animus in conſulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Salluſt. in bello Catilin.

Domi militiæque boni mores colebantur. . . Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quàm natura valebat. . . . Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, ſeque remque publicam curabant. Ibid.

were

were ſuch as are here deſcribed; but this was the ſpirit of the republick, the genius of thoſe who governed them, * this ſmall number drew all the reſt after them, and produced theſe wonderful effects.

Neither muſt we imagine that the virtues we have been commending were very pure and ſolid. We ſet the full value upon them, and repreſent them as Roman virtues, not as Chriſtian. And yet imperfect as they were, it pleaſed God, as St. Auſtin obſerves, to crown them with the empire of the world; a recompence worthy of the Romans, who expected no other, and as vain as their virtues. *Receperunt mercedem ſuam*, ſays the Goſpel, *vani vanam*, as we may add with a father who expreſſes himſelf thus concerning theſe illuſtrious pagans.

Having taken theſe precautions, and made uſe of theſe preſervatives, I ſhall now proceed to relate the principal virtues, wherein the Romans excelled in war. And this I ſhall do with all the brevity that I can.

## I. *Equity and wiſe caution in undertaking and declaring war.*

The Romans never lightly or raſhly engaged in a war. Before all things they endeavoured to gain the favour of the Gods, expecting ſucceſs only from their protection, and [z] perſuaded that as they preſided in a particular manner over the events of war, they always inclined the victory to the ſide of juſtice and equity. Hence it aroſe, that they never took up arms without firſt ſending heralds to the enemy, whom they named *Feciales*, to lay open their grievances and cauſes of complaint; nor did they declare war againſt them,

* Ac mihi multa agitanti conſtabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patraviſſe. Ibid.

[z] Vicerunt dii hominesque, &c id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus fœdus rupiſſet, eventus belli, velut æquus judex, undejus ſtabat, ei victoriam dedit. Liv. lib. xxi. n. 10.

but upon their refuſal to make ſatisfaction. It was only becauſe they would not omit theſe ceremonies, in which part of their religion conſiſted, that they ſuffered Saguntum to be miſerably deſtroyed, whoſe ruin, as a judicious Carthaginian had foretold, recoiled upon Carthage itſelf, and drew on its deſtruction. The Romans were alike reſerved in the caſes of Philip, Antiochus, and Perſeus, though theſe Princes were the aggreſſors, and had long before broken their treaties by ſeveral manifeſt infractions.

## II. *Perſeverance and conſtancy in a reſolution once taken and decreed.*

[a] The ſlower and more dilatory the Romans were at firſt, the briſker and more perſevering they were in the execution. This appears evidently from the ſiege of Capua only. It was reſolved by the Romans to attack that conſiderable city, the revolt of which being left unpuniſhed for ſeveral years, ſeemed to reflect ſhame upon Rome. At the time that Italy was ravaged by ſuch an enemy as Hannibal, and the horrors of the war were moſt ſenſibly felt by them, they abandoned all, and quitted Hannibal himſelf to lay ſiege to Capua, whither they ſent the two conſuls, at the head of two ſeparate armies. The ſiege laſted above a year, and Hannibal uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſave that city, which he had ſo much cauſe to value. As a laſt effort he marches towards Rome with a numerous army. "There is no beaſt, [b] ſays a citizen of Capua, "ſo intent upon his prey, but will quit his hold, if "his den is attempted, and its young in danger of "being carried off. But for the Romans, neither the "ſiege of Rome, nor the cries and groans of their "wives and children, which they heard almoſt in the "camp, could divert them from the ſiege of Capua."

[a] Quo leniùs agunt, ſegniùs incipiunt; eo, cùm. cœperint, vereor ne perſeve. antiùs ſeviant, Lib. xxi. n. 10.

[b] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 13.

The

[c] The conqueſt and exemplary puniſhment of that revolted city, convinced the world of the preſeverance of the Romans in purſuing their unfaithful allies with vengeance, and how unable Hannibal was to ſuccour a city which had thrown itſelf under his protection.

But this character of perſeverance and conſtancy appears to me moſt admirable in the Romans, in their treaties of peace with their enemies. The terms of it were expreſſed at the beginning of the war, and no future event could ever induce them to depart in the leaſt from them. Neither the ſhocks they ſometimes received made them diminiſh thoſe conditions in any thing, nor did the conſiderable victories they obtained occaſion any addition; ſo firm and invarible were this people in their reſolutions, as judging them to be founded in reaſon and equity. The treaties they made with the Carthaginians, and with the three Princes whoſe overthrow followed upon that of Carthage, were all of this nature.

III. *The habit of inuring themſelves to painful labours and military exercíſes; the incredible ſeverity of their diſcipline, and the different rewards of merit.*

The Romans may properly be ſaid to have been a nation of ſoldiers, born and trained up to war, from whence they derived all their glory and power, as it made their principal occupation. Their troops were not collected at random, but made up of citizens ſettled at Rome, or in the country, who fought for themſelves whilſt they were fighting for the ſtate. They were enured to military labour from their infancy. [d] *Robuſtus acri militiâ puer condiſcat, &c.* [e] 'Tis ſurprizing to ſee what burdens they were loaded with in a march. Every ſoldier carried proviſions for ſeveral days, one paliſade and ſometimes more, with all the neceſſaries of life, beſides his buckler, ſword and helmet, which were not reckoned a burden, becauſe the

[c] Ibid. n. 16. [d] Horat. [e] Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. lib. ii. n. 37.

arms

arms were in a manner part of the ſoldier, and looked upon as members of his body. Their long ſieges, painful marches, remote expeditions, the extraordinary weight of their arms, baggage and ammunition, their ordinary labour in fortifying the camp, though for a very ſhort reſidence, and ſeveral other very fatiguing exerciſes of this nature, could not extinguiſh in them their love for the glory of their country; and ſo invincible a patience enabled them to conquer the whole earth.

It is eaſy to imagine what an impreſſion thoſe bloody executions made upon men's minds, [f] wherein fathers and conſuls, to maintain and confirm the military diſcipline, which they looked upon as the principal ſupport of the ſtate, thought themſelves obliged to ſhed the blood of their own children and of the principal officers of the army. After ſuch examples, a private ſoldier had no room to imagine that his diſobedience could eſcape unpuniſhed.

But what renders the Roman armies invincible was this great principle early eſtabliſhed, and inviolably obſerved among the troops, that it was an indelible reproach, and an unpardonable crime in a Roman to deliver up his arms and voluntarily ſurrender to the enemy, a principle which left no medium betwixt death and victory. Thus when it was propoſed in the ſenate, after the battle of Cannæ, to redeem ſoldiers who had ſurrendered to Hannibal, to the number of about eight thouſand, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of their relations, and the want the [g] republick then was in of troops, they ſtill firmly adhered to the old maxim of not redeeming the captives, as abſolutely neceſſary in that conjuncture to confirm and preſerve the military diſcipline; and they rather choſe to arm a like number of ſlaves, than make the leaſt en-

[f] Quemadmodum . . . quantum in te fuit, diſciplinam militarem, qui ſtetit ad hanc diem Romana res, ſolviſti . . . nos potius noſtro delicto plectemur, quàm reſpublica tanto ſuo damno noſtra peccata luat. Triſte exemplum, ſed in poſterum ſalubre juventuti ennus. Lib. viii. n. 7.

[g] Lib. xxii. n. 60.

croachment

croachment on a principle, upon which the ſecurity of the ſtate depended. They eaſily comprehended, ſays [h] Polybius, that Hannibal's view in the offer he made of reſtoring the priſoners for a certain ranſom, was not ſo much to obtain a conſiderable ſum of money, which notwithſtanding he wanted extremely, as to remove from the Roman troops, that ſenſe of honour and incentive to glory they carried with them to the battle, by letting them ſee there was a remedy left, and ſome hope of ſafety remaining for thoſe who yielded to the enemy. [i] But the ſenate, by abſolutely rejecting this propoſal, reſolved in refuſing, to confirm authentically the ancient laws of the Romans, either to conquer or die in the field. Such conſtancy and magnanimity, adds Polybius, diſappointed Hannibal, and gave him more terror, than his victory had occaſioned him joy and hope.

Add to theſe different motives, the marks of honour and rewards, which were publickly given after a battle, or any important action; the praiſes which the generals thought it their duty to beſtow upon the officers, and even upon the common ſoldiers, as Livy obſerves of Scipio, and the glorious teſtimonies they gave in a full ſenate, at their return from their campaign, in favour of ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt. All this inſpired the troops with inexpreſſible ardour, emulation and courage. By this means private officers acquired the merit of the general, as was ſeen upon an important occaſion, which preſerved Spain to the Romans. After the death of the two Scipio's, their affairs there ſeemed abſolutely deſperate. [k] A private Roman knight, at that time very young, but of courage and magnanimity above his age and condition, who had ſerved ſeveral years under Cneius Scipio, and had learnt the art of war under him, was choſen general by common conſent, and by his valour and prudence ſaved the army. This

[h] Polyb. pag. 500.
[i] τῶν μαχομένων ὁ διάπυρος. Ib.
[i] Τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐνηυδόκησαν
[k] Lib. xxv. n. 37.

was Marcius, upon whom our Scipio ſet a great value, when he came into Spain, and ever after diſtinguiſhed in a peculiar manner. Able officers were formed in this manner under able generals.

### IV. *Clemency and moderation in victory.*

It was the maxim of the Romans to treat the people and princes, who ſubmitted to them with mildneſs and clemency; as alſo to make thoſe who perſevered in their reſiſtance, feel the whole weight of their greatneſs and power. This the poet has beautifully expreſſed in the following verſe, which may be looked upon as the motto of the Roman people,

[1] *Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.*

"To ſpare the vanquiſh'd, and ſubdue the proud."

1. Though extremely incenſed againſt the Carthaginians, when their deputies appeared in the ſenate, in the quality of ſuppliants, and in an humble and pathetick tone, implored the mercy of the Roman people, their vengeance and indignation gave way to ſentiments of gentleneſs and clemency, and peace was granted them; though it was certain that it would not have been difficult for the Romans to have deſtroyed Carthage, and completed the conqueſt of Africa. 'Twas on this occaſion that Aſdrubal, ſurnamed Hædus, who ſpoke as the principal deputy, complimented the Roman people in the following manner. [m] "It "is very rare, ſaid he, that proſperity and moderation "meet together, and that men ſhould at the ſame time "be ſucceſsful and wiſe. The Roman people are in-

1 Æn. lib. viii. v. 853.

m Ratio ſimul hominibus bonam fortunam, bonamque mentem dari. Populi in Romanum eò invictum eſſe, quod in ſecundis rebus ſapere & conſulere meminerit. Et hercule mirandum fuiſſe, ſi aliter ſuccederet. Ex inſolentiâ, quibus nova bona fortuna ſit, impotentes lætitiæ inſanire: populo Romano uſitata ac propè jam obſoleta ex victoriâ gaudia eſſe; ac plus penè parcendo victis, quàm vincendo imperium auxiſſe. Lib. xxx. n. 42.

"vinciale,

"vincible, becauſe they ſuffer themſelves not to be "blinded with their good fortune. And indeed it "would be ſurprizing, added he, if they acted other-"wiſe: For ſuch only are dazzled and tranſported "with proſperity, as are unacquainted with it. "Whereas the Romans are ſo accuſtomed to conquer, "that they are ſcarce any longer ſenſible of the plea-"ſure ariſing from victory; and it may be ſaid to "their glory, that they have in a manner augmented "their empire more, by pardoning the conquered "than by conquering."

2. [a] The Romans kept nothing to themſelves of the conqueſts they gained over Philip of Macedon. For the whole fruit of their victories, they reſerved only the pleaſure of enriching their allies, and the glory of reſtoring liberty to Greece. And that this preſent, ſo magnificent, extraordinary, and till then unheard of, might not be ſubject to ſuſpicion, or future change of ſentiments, they withdrew their garriſons out of all their cities, without ſo much as excepting one.

3. They uſed the like moderation after they had conquered Antiochus. They exempted all the people of Aſia, as far as mount Taurus, from their ſubjection to him. They gratified their allies with fleets, ſea-ports, cities, and whole provinces, without keeping to themſelves either galley or city, or requiring any tribute, juriſdiction or homage for ſo many countries as were conquered and freed by their arms.

4. [b] As ſoon as they had ſubdued Macedon, they reduced all the taxes and cuſtoms they paid their Kings to half the amount. They renounced the immenſe profits, which aroſe from the gold and ſilver mines, for this only reaſon, becauſe they were a burden to the inhabitants. They granted every city the right of governing themſelves by their own laws, of creating their own magiſtrates and officers, of holding provincial aſſemblies for the abſolute regulation of publick buſineſs; and they granted theſe people, who had

[a] Liv. lib. xxxiii. p. n. 30. [b] Ibid. xlv. n. 18.

long

long been enemies, all the privileges of entire liberty.

5. [p] The Romans treated the Illyrians with like humanity and moderation, after their victory over Gentius. They ſuffered them to enjoy the ſame exemptions, and liberty, though they had held out ſo long againſt them; and after they had withdrawn all the Roman troops, they eſtabliſhed the ſame form of government there as in Macedon.

## V. *Valour and Magnanimity in adverſity.*

This is the moſt peculiar character of the Roman people, and ſhews beſides a force and conſtancy which nothing could ſhake or deſtroy.

This diſpoſition was never ſhewn in a more wonderful manner than after the battle of Cannæ. That battle gave the laſt blow to the preceding defeats, which had already extremely weakened the ſtate. Two conſuls with their armies were entirely overthrown. The republick had neither ſoldiers nor generals. Several of the allies were gone over to the victorious ſide. Hannibal was maſter of Samnium, and almoſt all Italy. Such a blow, ſo terrible a misfortune, would have cruſhed any other people but them. [q] Yet neither the defeat of ſo many armies, nor the defection of their allies, could incline the Roman people to hearken to peace. They ſhewed not the leaſt ſign of weakneſs or diſcouragement. But all in general conſpired to promote the publick good. The reſolution was as quick as unanimous to defend themſelves, and not lend an ear to any propoſal of accommodation.

[r] What Polybius ſays, upon the occaſion of another battle, was then verified; that the Romans both in general and particular, are never more terrible, than when they are expoſed to the greateſt dangers, and ſeem moſt upon the brink of deſtruction.

p Liv. lib. xlv. n. 26. q Lib. xxii. n. 61. r Polyb. pag. 227.

VI. *Juſtice*

I. *Juſtice and adherence to their engagements the principles of the Roman government; the ſprings of the love and confidence of the citizens, allies, and conquered nations.*

It is an opinion very anciently eſtabliſhed amongſt abundance of perſons, and not entirely eradicated by Chriſtianity itſelf, that juſtice and policy are ſcarce capable of being allied together; that a man deſigned for adminiſtration ſhould not make himſelf a ſlave to the laws; that exact probity and a ſcrupulous adherence to their word and ſolemn engagements, would often lay a prince and miniſter under great difficulties; that the intereſt of the ſtate ſhould always be the rule and motive of governments; in a word, that it is impoſſible to manage publick buſineſs without committing ſome injuſtice, *Rempublican regi ſine injuria non poſſe.*

Tully in his books *de republica*, which is an extract from Plato's admirable work upon the ſame ſubject, has fully refuted this opinion. It is not only according to him a falſe and contradictory notion to believe, that no one can ſucceed in the adminiſtration of publick affairs without ſometimes acting unjuſtly, but he looks upon the oppoſite principle as an inconteſtable truth, and as the baſis and foundation of all the rules that can he laid down in matter of politicks, namely, that A STATE CANNOT BE GOVERNED WELL WITHOUT A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF JUSTICE IN ALL THINGS. [f] *Nihil eſt quod adhuc de repub. putem dictum, & quo poſſim longiùs progredi, niſi ſit confirmatum, non modò falſum eſſe illud, ſine injuria non poſſe, ſed hoc veriſſimum, ſine ſummâ juſtitia rempubliçam regi non poſſe.*

To give the greater weight and authority to his arguments, he had put them into the mouth of Lælius and Scipio Africanus, the grandſon by adoption of him we have ſo long been ſpeaking of. 'Tis eaſy to

f Fragm. Cic. apud S. Aug. lib. ii. c. 21. de civit. Dei.

diſcern

diſcern how much we have ſuffered by the loſs of ſo excellent a work, which was copied by ſuch an able hand, after ſo perfect an original. Theſe two illuſtrious friends, Lælius and Scipio, who were the admiration of their own age, and may well be propoſed to ours as the models of great generals and great ſtateſmen, lay down this maxim as an indiſputable principle in point of government, That there is nothing more pernicious to a ſtate than injuſtice, and that no republick can ever be well governed, or even ſubſiſt without juſtice: *Nihil tam inimicum quàm injuſtitiam civitati, nec omnino niſi magnâ juſtitiâ geri aut ſtare poſſe rempublicam.*

Such were the rules and maxims of the Roman people in the proſperous days of which we have been ſpeaking, and this idea their allies and the conquered nations had of them. [t] Livy obſerves, that the loſs of the firſt three battles gained by Hannibal, which ſpread ſuch univerſal terror and conſternation, did not however ſhake the fidelity of the allies. *Nec tamen is terror, cum omnia flagrarent, bello fide ſocios dimovit.* The reaſon he brings for it is very glorious to the Roman people, and gives us in a few words, the idea of a perfect government. For the allies, ſays he, finding they were under a juſt and moderate government, without difficulty obeyed a people, that was far ſuperior to them in merit, which is the only bond of fidelity. *Videlicet quia juſto & moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei eſt, melioribus parere.* The conquered nations were of the ſame opinion, and comparing the Roman dominion with that under which they had formerly lived, and the Roman generals with their ancient maſters, they looked upon the former as men ſent down from heaven, ſuch juſtice, goodneſs and humanity did they ſhew towards them; and they bleſſed themſelves for having fallen under the power of a people, who ſtrove to engage mankind to obey them more by kindneſs

[t] Lib. xxii. n. 13.

than

than fear, and took pains to deſerve the love and confidence of foreign nations by a mild and juſt government, inſtead of making them bear the yoke of a ſorrowful ſervitude. [u] *Veniſſe eos in populi Romani poteſtatem, qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit, exteraſque gentes fide ac ſocietate junctas habere, quàm triſti ſubjectas ſervitio.*

But perhaps it might be the intereſt of a Roman ſenate, to behave thus towards their allies, and the conquered nations which lay at a diſtance, and they ſhewed leſs regard to their citizens and natural ſubjects, who for this reaſon were leſs attached to the republick, and bore it the leſs affection. On the contrary, 'tis in this particular the Roman people is moſt to be admired; and what I am about to ſay, will clearly ſhew, that the greateſt reſource of a ſtate is the affection of the people, their love to the government, and the confidence they have in the publick faith; and that to give the leaſt blow to it, is in point of politicks the moſt capital, pernicious and irreparable fault.

After the battle of Cannæ, all ſeemed abſolutely deſperate. The fidelity of the greateſt part of the allies were overwhelmed by ſo terrible a blow. The ſtate had neither generals, troops nor money, and yet new raiſed troops and freſh recruits were indiſpenſably neceſſary. They were obliged to fit out fleets, to furniſh proviſions, arms and clothes. But though the ſtate was in want of every thing, it did not want credit, and found ready and ſure ſupplies in the affection of the citizens.

[w] The conſul urged, that the magiſtrates ought to ſet the example to the ſenate, and the ſenate to the people, of aſſiſting the republick in the extremity to which they were reduced; that the way to engage the lower people to contribute of their ſubſtance to the ſupport of the ſtate, was to begin with doing it themſelves; that thus they ought all to bring their gold

[u] Lib. xxvi. n. 49. [w] Lib. xxvi. n. 36.

and

and ſilver into the publick treaſury. This was imm diately done, and with ſo much zeal, that the recei ers and notaries were ſcarce ſufficient to anſwer t eagerneſs of the publick, every one ſtriving for t honour of ſubſcribing firſt: The order of ſenato and then the people, did the ſame, without requiri for all this any publick edict.

[x] Of the thirty colonies in Italy, eighteen ſent c puties to Rome, to declare they were ready to fu niſh the troops required of them, and even more it was judged neceſſary; that thanks to the Go they wanted neither means nor courage to do it. *id ſibi neque opes deeſſe, animum etiam ſupereſſe.* Th deputies were received both by the ſenate and peop with loud acclamations and extraordinary marks joy and honour. Livy has thought proper to preſe the names of theſe colonies in his hiſtory, [y] that th might not, ſays he, want the honour ſo many a after, which is ſo juſtly their due. For the ot twelve colonies, who refuſed to raiſe the levies quired, the ſenate thought it moſt ſuitable to the d nity of the Roman people, to puniſh them only taking no notice of them. *Ea tacita caſtigatio m ex dignitate populi Romani viſa eſt.*

They received at the ſame time letters from the t Scipio's, who commanded in Spain, by which, thou they undertook to ſupply the ſoldiers pay of the ſelves, they required clothes and proviſions to be ſ them immediately, or otherwiſe it would be impo ble to preſerve the province. The republick w unable to ſupply them in the condition it then w The prætor called an aſſembly, and laid before people the neceſſities of the publick, and the [z] i poſſibility the ſtate was in of ſupplying them, i wanted credit as well as money. He exhorted th

[x] This was ſome time after.

[y] Ne nunc quidem poſt tot ſecula ſileantur, fraudenturve laude ſua. Lib. xxvii. n. 12.

[z] Itaque, niſi fide ſtaret publica, opibus non ſtatur Lib. xxiii. n. 48.

who in times paſt had increaſed their eſtates by farming the revenues of the Roman people, now to lend the republick a part of the ſubſtance they had gained by it, and to make advances for Spain, with a promiſe, that theſe ſums ſhould be exactly repaid them, as ſoon as the ſtate ſhould be in a condition to do it. Three powerful companies offered their aſſiſtance, and the armies in Spain were as plentifully ſupplied as in the times of the greateſt opulence.

[a] This noble diſintereſtedneſs and ardent zeal, reigned equally in all the orders and bodies of the ſtate.

[b] The fleet was in want of ſeamen and proviſions. It was agreed to lay a general tax upon every member of the ſtate, in proportion to the rank and revenue of every private man, and the thing was executed without delay or murmur.

The publick buildings were fallen to decay, for want of a proper fund for the repairing of them. The undertakers chearfully went about it, without requiring any money for their work till the war ſhould be ended.

In this common emulation, and general diſpoſition of the ſtate, to aid and ſupport the publick treaſury, they firſt brought in the orphans money, and then the widows: [c] thoſe who had it in poſſeſſion, judging they could not depoſite it in a more ſecure and ſacred aſylum, than in that of the publick credit.

This generoſity paſſed from the city into the camp. Every horſeman, centurion and officer refuſed their pay, and whoever took it was looked upon as a mercenary wretch.

The event ſhewed that they had reaſon to rely upon the republick. Every debt, every ſum of money advanced, with every obligation, was diſcharged with the utmoſt exactneſs. They would have even paid off

[a] Hi mores eaque caritas patriæ per omnes ordines velut tenore uno pertinebat. Lib. xxiii. n. 49.

[b] Lib. xxiv. n. 11.

[c] Nuſquam eas totiùs ſanctiùſque deponere credentibus, qui deferebant, quam in publica fide. Lib. xxiv. n. 18.

ſome of them before the term agreed on; and notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of money, they offered the maſters of the ſlaves that were reſtored to their liberty, to pay the full price for them; but all declared they would not receive it till the war was terminated.

It is from ſuch facts as theſe we muſt form a juſt idea of the Roman government. That ſingle expreſſion which I have quoted, and which might deſerve to be engraven in letters of gold, *that they found no aſylum more ſecure or more ſacred, wherein to depoſite the money of orphans and widows, than that of the publick faith:* This ſingle expreſſion, I ſay, is the higheſt encomium that can be imagined of the Roman character. We learn from thence, that according to the comſtant maxim of all the great men of antiquity, the moſt famous legiſlators, and wiſeſt politicians, the deſign and ſupreme rule of government is the good of the publick, and the ſafety of the people. *Salus* [d] *populi ſuprema lex eſto*; the affection of the people alſo, and their confidence in the juſtice and integrity of thoſe who governed them, are the firmeſt ſupport, and ſometimes the ſafety and ſole reſource of ſtates.

## VII. *Reſpect for Religion.*

We need but open the hiſtorians to be convinced, that religion prevailed in every thing amongſt the Romans. Were they to undertake a war, or engage in a battle, they conſulted the Gods, implored their aſſiſtance, and employed all the proper means of rendering them favourable. Did they obtain a victory or any advantage, they preſently ordered publick thankſgivings, ſacrifices and feſtivals, and the concourſe of people in all the temples was incredible. "Hannibal was ſcarce ſet out upon his return into Africa, but they blamed themſelves for their delay in returning thanks to the Gods, for a benefit ſo long

[d] Cic. Lat. Pro Cluent. n. 2. [e] Lib. xxx. n. 21.

expected,

expected, and ſo little hoped for. [f] It was a prevailing principle among them, that piety towards the Gods was the cauſe of all their good ſucceſs, as the neglect of their worſhip brought upon them all their misfortunes. Hence it came to paſs, ſays Polybius [g], that the Romans in any preſſing neceſſity, ſo diligently applied themſelves to gain the favour of Gods and men, and that in all the ceremonies of religion, which ſuch ſort of conjunctures required, there was nothing mean or unworthy their grandeur to be found. [h] And in another place he obſerves, that what raiſed the Roman people to ſuch a degree of ſuperiority above all other nations, was their reſpect for religion and fear of the Gods, though in other places it was often treated as the ſign of a mean and narrow ſpirit. Among the Grecks, adds he, let them take what pains they pleaſe to tie up the hands of thoſe who are intruſted with the publick money, by a thouſand precautions of ſignatures, witneſſes, ſecurities and overſeers; it is all inſufficient to keep them honeſt: whereas among the Romans, the religion of an oath only keeps their hands clean in the management of far more conſiderable ſums; nothing being more rare at Rome, than to have a general or a governor convicted of embezzling the publick treaſure.

## VIII. *The love of Glory.*

I ſhall conclude with this article, becauſe the diſpoſition I am now ſpeaking of, was the ſoul of all the actions of the Romans. [i] St. Auguſtin makes this reflection in ſeveral places, and obſerves that this paſſion, I mean the thirſt of glory, extinguiſhed in them every other paſſion; that all their moſt beautiful and glorious actions, which have gained them the admi-

[f] Intuemini horum deinceps annorum vel ſecundas res vel adverſas, invenietis omnia proſperè evenisſe ſequentibus Deos, adverſa ſpernentibus. Lib. v. n. 51.

[g] Pag. 262.

[h] Pag. 498.

[i] De civ. Dei, lib. v. c. 12.

ration of all people and all ages, were entirely owing to this. The deſire of being eſteemed and commended, as defenders and protectors of liberty, juſtice laws, and as enemies of injuſtice, violence and tyranny; this deſire, I ſay, was a kind of curb, which reſtrained and moderated their ambition, and inſpired them with thoſe ſentiments of goodneſs, clemency and generoſity, with the ſimple relation of which we are ſtill charmed after ſo many ages.

Was ever any day more glorious to the Roman empire, than when by her order liberty was reſtored to all the ſtates of Greece, and the edict for it publiſhed amidſt the joyful acclamations and applauſes of ſo many people? How great an encomium was that then heard through all Greece, the ſound of which ſoon after paſſed through the whole univerſe, [k] that there was a nation upon earth, which ſcrupled not to take upon itſelf the expences, fatigues and dangers of long and laborious wars, to procure the liberty of nations remote from their country; and who croſſed the ſeas to prevent there being an unjuſt government or empire in any part of the world, and to eſtabliſh juſtice, equity and laws univerſally.

Upon theſe motives the Romans acted in the flouriſhing ages of the republick. It was this ſpirit which animated the conſuls and their generals. [l] They aſpired to rule, but by the methods of honour and glory, and to this end they ſtrictly obſerved juſtice and the laws; whereas in after-ages ambition being no longer kept in, nor moderated by this reſtraint it acted the laſt exceſſes of injuſtice, violence and cruelty, as may be ſeen under Marius, Sylla, Cæſar and Anthony.

[k] Eſſe aliquam in terris gentem, quæ ſuâ impenſâ, tuo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate alienum, nec hoc finitimis aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præſtet: maria trajiciat, ne quid toto orbe terrarum injuſtum imperetur ſit, & ubique jus, fas, lex pateat tiſſima ſint. Liv. lib. xxxii. n. 33.

[l] Salluſt. in bello Catilin.

In

In the hiſtory of the Maccabees [m] we have a particular account of the virtues, by which the Romans raiſed their republick to that height of glory and power to which it attained. Their counſel and wiſdom are particularly recommended. Their unity to promote the publick good, their particular diſintereſtedneſs, their obedience to the laws and lawful authority, their faith in treaties, their patience in labour, their conſtancy in their reſolution, their courage and valour, and above all their love of equality, and freedom from all ambition: Theſe virtues, although defective in their end and motives, as they were not referred to God, but to vain glory, were notwithſtanding very eſtimable in themſelves, with reſpect to the rules and duties of civil ſociety.

I cannot better conclude this article than with the ſolid reflection of St. Auguſtin [n], upon the cauſes of the Roman power. "Though they were void, ſays "he, of true picty, which conſiſts in the ſincere "worſhip of the true God; they obſerved notwith-"ſtanding certain rules of probity and juſtice, which "are the foundation of a ſtate, contributed to its in-"creaſe, and ſerve to eſtabliſh it. And it pleaſed "God to grant them an incredible ſucceſs, to ſhew "by the example of ſo great and powerful an em-"pire, how uſeful civil and political virtues are, "though ſeparate from true religion, and to let other "men thereby ſee how valuable they become, when "exalted and ennobled by true religion, and in what "manner they may thereby become citizens of ano-"ther country, where truth is King, charity the law, "and duration eternity. *Cujus rex veritas, cujus lex "charitas, cujus modus æternitas.*"

[m] Maccab. lib. 1. c. 8.
[n] S. Aug. Ep. 138, ad Marcell. c. 3.

——Fenelon, who often teased Richelie
(and ineffectually, it would seem,) for su
ſcriptions to charitable undertakings, w
one day telling him that he had just s
his picture. "And did you ask it f
ſubſcription?" ſaid Richelieu, sneer
"No, I ſaw there was no chance," r
the other, "it was ſo like you."

Thomas H Shoemaker


## The fourth Piece of Roman Hiſtory.

*The change of the Roman Republick into a Monarc foretold and expreſſed by the hiſtorian Polybius, in ſixth book of his hiſtory.*

I SHALL divide what I have to ſay upon this ſu ject into two parts. In the firſt I ſhall give a ſh account of the principles which Polybius lays do upon the different ſorts of governments, and on wh he formed conjectures that foretold the change wh was to happen in the Roman republick. In the cond I ſhall explain, as briefly as I can, how t change actually came to paſs, after the manner a for the reaſons which Polybius had expreſſed.

I think myſelf obliged to inform my readers, in t beginning of this little diſſertation, that when I ſp of the different ſorts of government, and the ju ment to be formed of them, I only relate the ſer ments of Polybius. For my own part, I adhere the deciſion which is found in [o] Herodotus, where monarchical ſtate is preferred to the other two.

## CHAP. I.

*The principles of Polybius upon the different ſo of government, and particularly that of Romans.*

THE different ſorts of government are genera reduced to three kinds; one where the K governs, which Polybius calls βασίλεια, *Regal gove*

[o] Herod. l. 3. c. 80.

*me*

*nent*; another in which the nobility have the ſupreme authority, which is called an *ariſtocracy*; and a third which is called a *democracy*, where the whole power of the ſtate veſts in the people.

Every one of theſe forms of government has another which very much reſembles, borders upon it, and into which it often degenerates, whereof mention ſhall be made hereafter.

A perfect government would be that which ſhould unite in itſelf all the advantages of the three former, and avoid the dangers and inconveniencies they include.

Such was the government of Sparta. Lycurgus being ſenſible that the three forms of government, we have mentioned, had each of them great inconveniencies, which were almoſt inevitable; that royalty ſometimes degenerated into tyranny and arbitrary power; ariſtocracy into an unjuſt dominion of ſome particular perſons, and the power of the people into anarchy and confuſion; Lycurgus, I ſay, contrived to introduce theſe three forms of government into that of Sparta, and in a manner blend them into one; inſomuch that the royal authority was balanced by the power of the people, and a third order compoſed of the elders and wiſemen of the republick ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the two former, to hold them conſtantly in a kind of equilibrium, and hinder the one from riſing too much above the other. This wiſe legiſlator was not miſtaken in his views, and no republick ever preſerved its laws, its cuſtoms, and its liberty ſo long as that of Sparta. The inſtitutions of Lycurgus indeed, were by no means proper for a ſtate determined upon conqueſts and aggrandizing itſelf, which therefore did not enter at all into his ſcheme or deſign, as this wiſe legiſlator did not place the ſolid happineſs of a people in it. It was his intention that the Spartans confining themſelves within the natural bounds of their country, without any thoughts of invading the territories of another, ſhould by their juſ-

tice and moderation, ſtill more than by their power, become the maſters and arbiters of the fate of all the other people of Greece, which in his opinion was no leſs glorious than to carry the ſucceſs of their arms abroad. Nor did they fall from their glory, till they departed from theſe wiſe views of their legiſlator. For when they were obliged to furniſh proviſions out of their own territories, to fit out fleets, pay ſeamen, and defray the expences of a long war, their iron money was no longer of any uſe to them; and this laid them under a neceſſity, as haughty as they were, of ſervilely making their court to the grandees of Perſia, to obtain money of them, every where current, and of becoming voluntary ſlaves before they were ſubdued by force.

If the glory of a ſtate, ſays Polybius, is made to conſiſt in the aggrandizing and extending itſelf, in making conqueſts, in ruling over many people, and attracting the eyes of the whole earth, it muſt be owned that no government had ever ſo many advantages, nor was ſo calculated for the obtaining this end as that of the Romans. Like the government of Sparta, it united in one the three forms of authority we have mentioned. The conſuls held the place of Kings; the ſenate formed the publick council, and the people had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration: There was only this difference in it, that it was not by a plan and deſign laid down from the beginning, as at Sparta, but by the conſequence of events, that Rome aſſumed this form of government; every one of the three parties which made up the body of the ſtate, had a diſtinct power: the deſcription of which may not here be diſagreeable, as it may very much contribute to the underſtanding of the Roman hiſtory. Polybius is very particular upon this ſubject.

*The power of the Conſuls.*

Whilſt the conſuls reſided at Rome, they had the adminiſtration of all publick affairs. All the other magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, except the tribunes of the people, were ſubject to them, and obliged to obey them. Upon them turned whatever related to the deliberations of the ſenate. They admitted ambaſſadors into it; propoſed the publick affairs, and reduced its reſolutions to form in writing. They carried them to the people, called aſſemblies for that purpoſe, in which they were to deliberate of the common affairs of the publick, laid before them the decrees of the ſenate for their examination, and according to the importance of the ſubject, after a deliberation, attended with many other formalities, concluded by the majority of voices. They preſided in the creation of the magiſtrates of the republick, and for this reaſon were ſo frequently recalled from the army, and were not ordinarily allowed to be both abſent from Italy.

As to war and military expeditions, the conſuls had almoſt ſovereign power; they had the care of raiſing armies, of ſettling the number of troops, which the allies were ſeparately to furniſh, and of nominating the principal officers to ſerve under them. When they were in the field they had the right of condemning and puniſhing without appeal. They diſpoſed of the publick money at their pleaſure, and applied it as they judged convenient; the quæſtor conſtantly attending them, and ſupplying them with ſuch ſums as they required, out of the funds aſſigned to them for the ſervice; ſo that conſidering the Roman republick, in this point, one would be almoſt inclined to think it governed by a regal and monarchical authority.

### *The power of the Senate.*

The ſenate almoſt abſolutely diſpoſed of the finances and publick treaſure. They took account of all the revenues and expences of the ſtate, and the quæſtors could not deliver out any ſum, except to the conſuls, without a decree of the ſenate. The caſe was the

ſame with reference to all the expences the cenſors were obliged to be at for the ſupport and repairs of the publick buildings.

The ſenate nominated commiſſioners to take cognizance of all the extraordinary crimes which were committed at Rome and in Italy, and demanded the attention of the publick authority, ſuch as treaſon, conſpiracy, poiſoning and murders, and to paſs ſentence upon them. The affairs and cauſes of private men or cities, which had any relation to the ſtate, were alſo adjudged by the ſenate. It was the ſenate which ſent ambaſſadors, declared war againſt the enemies of the ſtate, granted audience, and gave anſwers to the deputies and ambaſſadors of foreign people and Princes. It was the ſenate likewiſe which ſent commiſſioners abroad, to hear the complaints of the allies, to regulate the limits and the frontiers, to ſee good order obſerved in the provinces, and to decide the pretenſions of ſtates and kingdoms. Thus a ſtranger, who ſhould have come to Rome in the abſence of the conſuls, would have thought the government of the republick was entirely ariſtocratical, that is, in the hands of the elders and ſages.

### *The power of the People.*

The power of the people, however, was very conſiderable. They were ſole maſters and arbiters of rewards and puniſhments, which is the moſt eſſential part of government. They often fixed pecuniary mulcts upon ſuch as had been poſſeſſed of the higheſt employments, and had alone the right of condemning the Roman citizens capitally. And in this laſt caſe there was a very laudable cuſtom at Rome, according to Polybius, and worthy our obſervation, which was, to leave a perſon who was accuſed of a capital crime, the power of preventing judgment, and retiring into ſome neighbouring city, where he paſt the reſt of his life in peace and liberty, in a voluntary baniſhment.

ment. It was the people, who by their ſuffrages conferred all offices and honours, which in a republick are the moſt glorious rewards of probity and merit. They had alone the right of inſtituting and abrogating laws; and what is ſtill more conſiderable, it was the people who deliberated of peace and war, who decided alliances, treaties of peace and conventions with foreign people and Princes. Who would not have thought ſuch a government abſolutely popular and democratical?

### *The mutual dependence of the Conſul, Senate and People, upon each other.*

It is this mutual dependence of the different parts of a republick, wherein the ſecurity, ſtrength and beauty of it conſiſts. From this reciprocal want they have of one another, ariſes a kind of harmony between the different members, and an unanimous concurrence; which holding them all ſtrictly united amongſt themſelves, by the bond of common intereſt, renders the body of the ſtate invulnerable, and not to be conquered by any foreign power.

We have already obſerved, that the power of the conſul, in time of war, was almoſt ſovereign, and yet he abſolutely depended in ſeveral particulars both upon the ſenate and people. For on one ſide it was only by order from the ſenate that he could receive the ſums that were neceſſary for the proviſions, clothes, and pay of the ſoldiers: And the denial, or delay of theſe ſuccours, diſabled the general from forming any attempt, or purſuing his deſigns as far as he could wiſh. The ſame ſenate, at the end of the year, could appoint a ſucceſſor to the conſul, or continue him in the command of the army, and thereby had it in their power to leave him the glory of ending the war, or to take it from him. Laſtly, it depended upon the ſenate to caſt a blemiſh upon the atchievements of the generals, or advance their glory. For it was the ſenate which decreed the honour of a triumph, and

appointed the expences neceſſary for that pompous ſolemnity. On the other ſide, as it belonged to the people to declare war, to confirm or diſannul the treaties made with Princes and foreign nations, and to call the generals to an account for their conduct, at their return from the army, it is eaſy to ſee how attentive it was neceſſary for them to be in conciliating the favour of the people.

As to the ſenate, though their power was ſo great in other reſpects, yet in ſeveral points it was ſubject to that of the people. In great affairs, and ſuch eſpecially as concerned the lives of the citizens, the intervention of their authority was requiſite. When any laws were propoſed, even ſuch as tended to diminiſh the rights, honours and prerogatives of the ſenate, and the eſtates of the ſenators, the ſenators were the judges whether they ſhould be received or rejected. But the greateſt inſtance of their power was, that if but one of their tribunes oppoſed the reſolutions and deſigns of the ſenate, it ſufficed to put a ſtop to them, ſo that after this oppoſition the ſenate could proceed no farther.

Laſtly, the people likewiſe, in their turn, were nearly concerned to keep fair with the ſenators, both in general and in particular. The receivers of taxes, tributes and cuſtoms, in a word, of all the income and revenue of the ſtate, the undertakers, who engaged to furniſh the army with proviſions, to repair the temples and other publick buildings, to keep up the high roads; theſe perſons formed numerous ſocieties, which were all taken out of the people, and ſubſiſted a great number of citizens, ſome being employed in collecting the revenue, others ſerving for ſecurity to the farmers, others lending their money by way of advance, and putting it out to uſe in that manner. Now the cenſors were the perſons who adjudged theſe farms to the companies, who offered to accept them, and alſo allotted to the undertakers the ſeveral works to be done; and it was the ſenate, which either

of itſelf, or by commiſſioners of their nomination, paſſed judgment without appeal, concerning the diſputes which might ariſe upon any of theſe matters, ſo far as to diſannul ſometimes ſuch agreements as became impracticable, and to grant a farther time for the payment, or to lower the rate of the leaſes, upon account of ſome ill accident intervening. And what was ſtill more capable of inſpiring the people with modeſty and reſpect for the decrees of the ſenate, [p] the judges of the greateſt part of the publick and private affairs of any conſequence, were taken out of their body. The citizens were likewiſe obliged to keep fair with the conſuls, upon whom they all depended, eſpecially in time of war, and when they ſerved under them in the army.

'Twas this mutual relation and agreement of all the orders of the republick, which rendered the government of Rome the moſt accompliſhed that ever was in the world.

When we read, in the infancy of the republick, and the times immediately following it, of the almoſt continual ſeditions which ſo long divided the ſenate and people, and that kind of inteſtine war between the tribunes and conſuls, we juſtly ſtand aſtoniſhed, how a ſtate agitated by ſuch frequent and violent convulſions, ſhould not only be able to ſubſiſt, but to conquer, even at that very time, all the neighbouring people, and preſently after to extend their victories into countries far more remote. Polybius gives a ſolid reaſon for it, which reflects a conſiderable honour upon the Roman people; and this is, that when the republick was attacked by an enemy from without, the fear of the common danger, and the motive of the publick good, ſuſpended their private quarrels, and entirely reunited them. The love of their country was then in a manner the ſoul which put all the parts and members of the ſtate into motion,

[p] The form of judgment was changed in after-times.

every one ſtriving to diſcharge their duty in their ſeveral functions, either by forming reſolutions with deliberation and wiſdom, or by putting them in execution, with promptitude and alacrity; and it was this good underſtanding and unanimity, which conſtantly rendered the republick invincible, and gave ſucceſs to all their undertakings.

It was this very conſtitution of the Roman government which maintained and ſubſiſted the republick for ſome time, even after the citizens, delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, grown haughty and inſolent by their victories, emaſculated by riches and pleaſures, and corrupted by praiſe and flattery, began to abuſe their power, and commit violence and wrong in a thouſand inſtances. For in this condition the authority of the ſenate, and that of the people, being always counterbalanced by each other, when one of the two parties at any time endeavoured to extend its power, the other preſently joined all its forces to pull it down, and keep it in order; and thus, by this mutual equality, this balancing power and authority, the republick always maintained itſelf in its liberty and independency.

### *Cauſes of the change of a Republick into a Monarchy.*

It is with a ſtate and a republick, ſays Polybius, as with the human body, which has its progreſs and increaſe, its time of ſtrength and maturity, its declenſion and end; and uſually when a ſtate is arrived at the height of grandeur and power, it afterwards degenerates by more or leſs ſenſible declenſions, and falls at laſt to ruin.

Thus, ſays Polybius, whilſt the government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, was made up of [q] the three ſorts of power we have been ſpeaking of, it was very potent and flouriſhing. But in the beginning of the ſecond Punick war, and in the

q Kings, formerly named *Suffetes*, the ſenate and the people.

time

ime of Hannibal, it might be ſaid in ſome meaſure, o be upon the decline. Its youth, flower, and vigour, were already faded; it had begun to fall from its former height, and tend towards its ruin. Whereas Rome was then, as I may ſay, in full ſtrength and vigour, and making large advances towards the conqueſt of the world. The reaſon which Polybius gives of the fall of the one, and the increaſe of the other's power, is drawn from the principles he had laid down concerning the ſucceſſive revolutions of ſtates. Amongſt the Carthaginians the people had at that time the principal authority in all publick affairs; on the other hand, at Rome the ſenate, had then more credit than ever. From whence he concludes, that a people, guided by the prudence of old men, muſt neceſſarily have the advantage over a ſtate governed, or rather hurried on by the raſh counſels of the multitude. Rome accordingly, which properly ſpeaking began then to extend its power, and make trial of its ſtrength againſt foreigners, governed by the wiſe counſels of the ſenate, was at laſt ſuperior in the total reſult of the war, though in particular it had the diſadvantage in ſeveral engagements, and eſtabliſhed its power and greatneſs upon the ruins of its rival.

But all things under the ſun have their decreaſe and end, and the wiſeſt and beſt conſtituted republicks as well as the reſt. Now the fall of ſtates muſt ariſe either from internal cauſes, and ſuch as ſubſiſt in the ſtate itſelf, or from cauſes that are foreign and external. It is not eaſy for human wiſdom, however penetrating, to foreſee the latter, as they depend upon numberleſs uncertain and obſcure events; whereas the former have, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, a fixt order, and almoſt certain prognoſticks.

To paſs a right judgment upon the cauſe of changes in ſtates, we need only attend to the manner in which theſe ſtates are uſually formed and eſtabliſhed,

and

and we ſhall then be ſurprized to ſee by what unforeſeen and unexpected revolutions things return almoſt always to the firſt point from whence they ſet out.

It is natural, [r] when a multitude of men are found together in the ſame country, without laws, government, or any ſubordination, and by a neceſſary conſequence expoſed to a great deal of wrong and violence, that the ſtrongeſt among them, as always happens among animals, ſhould become their head. This man employing afterwards his power and authority to protect and ſuccour the reſt, to defend them againſt violence and injuſtice, to procure them reſt and tranquillity, to favour conſtantly ſuch as are judged to be men of the greateſt probity, and to be exact in treating every one of his ſubjects according to their merit; they then with one conſent confirm the authority he had at firſt uſurped, and of violent had made juſt and reaſonable. They then ſwear to pay him an entire obedience and a perfect ſubmiſſion, which is ſo much the more firm and ſure, as it is founded upon the intereſt of thoſe who engaged to ſubmit to it. [s] Such is uſually the origin of monarchy, and ſuch is the ſteps by which it is converted into regal ſway, which in the governing of willing ſubjects, chuſes rather to employ the wiſdom of counſel, than terror and force; which motives conduced moſt in making Romulus a King.

In after times, the ſucceſſors of this authority, at firſt ſo mild and beneficial, obſerving their power to be thoroughly eſtabliſhed and plentifully enjoying all kind of ſplendor and honours, began to abuſe their power, commit numberleſs wrongs, exerciſe abundance of cruelty, and become the object of the people's hatred. It is eaſy to diſcern in this deſcription,

[r] We ſee in Herodotus, that the kingdom of the Medes was thus eſtabliſhed in the perſon of Deioces.

[s] τύραννοι τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγχεόμενοι καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐφ' ὕβρι καὶ βίᾳ κατάγοντες.

the

the character of Tarquinius Superbus the laſt King of the Romans.

The royal authority being thus changed into tyranny, conſpiracies are formed againſt the tyrants and perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, greatneſs of mind, valour and fortitude, place themſelves at the head of the conſpirators, men of that character bearing the unjuſt treatment of their maſters with the greateſt impatience. The people then ſeeing that they owe their quiet and liberty to their courage, willingly ſubmit to their government, and chearfully intruſt the ſupreme authority in their hands; as it actually happened when the Tarquins were expelled Rome. And thus an ariſtocracy is formed, or a government by wiſe men and elders, ſuch as thoſe grave old men were, of whom the ſenate was compoſed.

This ſort of government may have a longer duration and ſtability, but at laſt it degenerates in its turn like the reſt, and inſtead of thoſe prudent, experienced and diſintereſted old men, who had no other view but the good of their country, a ſmall number of men, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt only by ambition, pride and avarice, induſtiouſly ingroſs authority to themſelves, which paves the way to an oligarchy; of which we have ſeen ſome firſt eſſays and images in the violent conduct of the decemvirs, and in the cruel avarice of the wealthieſt ſenators, which forced the people more than once to ſtand upon their defence againſt their vexations, by thoſe famous retreats upon the Sacred and Aventin hills, and this is what is called an oligarchy.

When a republick is in this condition, and the citizens are alike diſguſted and tired with all the preceding forms of government, it is natural that they ſhould turn their views and deſires towards a democracy, by ſtriving to increaſe the power of the people in general, and to equal their rights and privileges with thoſe of the nobility. So long as the ſenſe and remembrance of paſt ills remain, good order ſubſiſts for

for ſome time, and an equality is kept up amongſt the citizens. But thoſe who come after, and are little affected with the advantages of the old liberty and popular equality, which are now grown ſtale through uſe, ſeek to raiſe themſelves above others, and ſuch are generally the moſt wealthy. As the legitimate admiſſion to honours ariſing from virtue and merit is often denied them, they employ their great wealth in buying the votes of the people, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to corrupt them by bribes and donations. When once theſe ambitious men, abandoned to their luſt of power, have obtained their ends of the multitude by the temptation of gain, there are no longer any exceſſes of which they are not capable. The commonwealth falls in this manner into the greateſt of misfortunes, which is when the populace becomes ſupreme diſpenſers of all things; and this is called ochlocracy.

Polybius obſerves, that this change of manners, which draws after it an alteration of government, is the uſual conſequence of the good ſucceſs and long proſperity of a ſtate. When a republick, ſays he, having paſt through great dangers becomes victorious after long and heavy wars, and arrived at the height of glory and power, has no more enemies to diſpute empire with it, but has ſubjected all to itſelf; ſuch a proſperity, if it is long and laſting, never fails to introduce luxury and ambition into this republick, which infallibly produce the ruin of the moſt flouriſhing ſtates. Luxury to furniſh the expences, which daily become greater and more enormous, ſoon degenerates into avarice, and is forced to have recourſe to injuſtice and rapine; and ambition to compaſs its ends omits nothing that may gain the favour of the people, flattery, complaiſance, bribery and corruption. Hence it follows, that the multitude on one ſide provoked by the unjuſt exactions of the rich, and on the other corrupted and grown inſolent by the flatteries and bribes of the ambitious, conſult only their own paſſions

ſions and caprice in publick debates, refuſe to give ear to their firſt magiſtrates, and to ſubmit to their authority; and aſſuming the ſpecious name of liberty and democracy, give themſelves up to an unlimited licentiouſneſs, and entirely ſhake off the yoke of the laws. Accuſtomed to live upon the ſubſtance of others, and fatten in eaſe and idleneſs, if they find a head, who is not in a condition to ſupply all their wants of himſelf, but being bold and enterprizing, ſeems capable of gratifying their deſires by other expedients, they adhere to him, and ſupport and advance him. Hence ariſe ſeditions, murders, baniſhments, proſcriptions, new diviſions of lands, and diſannulling of debts; till at laſt ſomebody more powerful and mighty than any of the reſt ſtarts up, who aſſumes the whole authority to himſelf, and becomes ſole maſter of the government. Thus the too eager deſire of liberty, or to ſpeak more properly, the abuſe the people make of it, ends in the loſs of that very liberty, and the eſtabliſhment of a new ſovereign and arbitrary government.

Such were in ſhort the revolutions, which changed the face and nature of the Roman republick, as it now remains for us to ſhew.

## CHAP. II.

### *The change of the Roman Republick into a Monarchy.*

WHAT Polybius had foreſeen came to paſs, in the manner and for the reaſons he had obſerved. It was the very grandeur and proſperity of Rome which occaſioned the loſs of its liberty. From the time that the Roman republick was arrived at that height of glory, to which the courage and virtue of its

its ancient generals and magiſtrates had raiſed it, began to decline at firſt by imperceptible degrees but afterwards by ſuch as were more obvious, and ended at laſt in the open violation of the ancient maxims of the government, and the infraction of the fundamental laws of the ſtate.

When the republick, [t] ſays Salluſt, had raiſed itſelf by labour and juſtice; when mighty Kings had been conquered in war, and fierce nations and numerous people ſubdued by force; when Carthage the rival of Rome was entirely conquered, and all in a word, made ſubject to the Roman empire both by ſea and land, there aroſe a ſurprizing revolution in the whole body of the ſtate. Thoſe whom neither labour nor dangers, nor ſo many adverſities could ever conquer, were ſubdued by the ſoftneſs of repoſe and the allurements of plenty and proſperity. Avarice and ambition, the fatal ſprings of every evil, increaſed in proportion to the power of Rome. Avarice baniſhed integrity, probity, and every other virtue from the republick, and ſubſtituted in their place pride and pomp, a contempt of religion, and a ſhameful commerce which expoſed every thing to ſale; and ambition in its turn introduced diſſimulation, fraud and treachery, and ſoon after violence, cruelty and murder.

It was thus, according to the fine thought of Juvenal, that luxury, a more fatal and cruel ſcourge than war, ravaged the Roman empire, and revenged the conquered world.

——*Sævior armis*
*Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.*

It remains therefore only to ſhew how juſt the conjectures were which Polybius wiſely formed, concerning the change which he foreſaw would happen in the

[t] Salluſt. in bello Catilin.

republick

epublick, to give a particular account of the principal auſes which brought on that revolution, as we find hem either in contemporary authors, or in ſuch as wrote ſoon after that great event. By this we ſhall clearly ſee the ſurprizing difference there was betwixt the firſt ages of the Roman republick and thoſe which preceded its ruin, and have at the ſame time a more perfect idea of all the ſtates through which it paſſed.

### *Riches attended with Luxury in Building, Furniture, Diet, &c.*

I ſhall not here repeat what I have already obſerved in the preceding volume, concerning the noble diſintereſtedneſs of the Romans, and their eſteem of poverty, ſimplicity, frugality, and modeſty. Virtues at that time ſo common and ſo generally practiſed, that they were leſs aſcribed to the particular merit of ſome citizens than to the genius of the nation, and the happy character of thoſe early ages; but at the ſame time, virtues ſo ſublime, and carried to ſo high a point of perfection, that in the latter ages of the republick they paſſed for fables and fictions; ſo remote were they from the taſte that then prevailed, and ſeemed ſo far ſuperior to human weakneſs.

[u] From the time that riches were had in honour, and became the only introduction to offices, power and glory, virtue was no longer held in eſteem. Poverty was looked upon as a reproach, and innocence of manners as the effect of a melancholy humour. And the fruit of theſe riches was luxury, avarice and pride.

The epocha of this change of diſpoſition amongſt the Romans, was that of the grandeur of the empire. [w] The firſt Scipio laid the ſure foundation of their future greatneſs, the laſt by his conqueſts opened the

[u] Poſtquam divitiæ honori eſſe cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia ſequebatur; hebeſcere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum ſuperbia invaſere. Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

[w] Vell Patere. lib. ii. n. 1.

do or

door to luxury. From the time that Carthage, which kept Rome in exercise by disputing the empire with it, was entirely destroyed, the extension of manners proceeded no longer by slow degrees, but was sudden and precipitate. Virtue immediately gave way to vice, the manners of the city to loose effect of manners, and the active laborious life to idleness and pleasure.

At whatever time the ancient Romans strove rather to be superior to the Gods by their magnificence, [x] *celebrandæ religionis tam magnæ magnificos*, the immense riches, which were the fruits of their later conquests, were employed in raising lofty temples to the Gods, and magnificent buildings for the decoration and embellishment of Rome.

It is difficult, not to say impossible, but what is made the object of admiration must sooner or later become the taste of private persons. Thus an historian observes, that from the time they began to use marble in the building of temples, and raised theatres and portico's, the luxury of private persons followed close at the heels of the publick magnificence, [y] *publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est.* The madness for building was carried to a prodigious excess, and more private men made it their diversion, and at the same time their glory, to lavish away large sums of money in levelling mountains, and filling up seas.

Their luxury was the same in every other particular, and it was the army that returned victorious out of Asia, which introduced it into Rome, or at least made it far more common there than it had been before. [z] Livy enumerates the several kinds of rich furniture, which from that time came into use: the comedians, singing women and players upon instruments began then also to make part of the entertainment at meals; the meals themselves no longer retained the air of the ancient simplicity, but were made at a great expence and with a large apparatus. A cook, who was looked

[x] Liv. lib. iii. n. 57. in bello Catil. n.
[y] Vell. Pat. lib. ii. n. 1. Sallust. [z] Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 6.

upon

on by the ancients as a vile ſlave, was then held in teem and honour, as an officer not to be diſpenſed ith; and what before had b en a low employment, ecame an art very much ſtudied and eſteemed. And t all this was nothing in compariſon of the exceſs ey afterwards fell into.

[a] Cato the Cenſor took a deal of pains to lay before ie ſenate the fatal conſequences of the luxury, which i his time began to be introduced into the republick. eeing the great progreſs of their arms in Greece and Aſia, provinces abounding with the dangerous baits nd allurements of every kind of pleaſure, and that he Romans began to lay hands upon the treaſures of Kings, "I fear, [b] ſaid he, that we ſhall become the "ſlaves of thoſe riches inſtead of their maſters, and "that the conquered nations will conquer us in their "turn, by communicating their vices to us." His apprehenſions were not imaginary, and all that he had foretold came afterwards to paſs.

## *Taſte for Statues, Pictures, &c.*

[c] It was the conqueſt of Syracuſe which produced this unhappy effect; though the ſtatues and pictures, which that great city was filled with, were ſpoils juſtly acquired by the right of war; and Marcellus was ſo cautious as to carry off but a ſmall number of them, only to adorn a temple at Rome, without reſerving any for the ornament of his own houſe or gardens, thoſe works of art, which were ſo much valued and ſought after, became fatal to the empire, by inſpiring the Romans with an admiration and taſte of thoſe vain ornaments.

[a] Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

[b] Hæc ego, quo melior lætiorque in dies fortuna Reipublicæ eſt, imperiumque creſcit; & jam in Græciam Aſiamque tranſcendimus, omnium libidinum illecebris repletas & regias etiam attractamus gazas: eo plus horreo, ne iliæ magis res nos ceperint, quàm nos illas.

[c] Hoſtium quidem illa ſpolia, & parta belli jure: cæterùm inde primum miſcendi Græcarum artium opera, licentiæque hinc ſacra profanaque omnia vulgò ſpoliandi, factum eſt. Liv. lib. xxv. n. 40.

[d] Fabius

[d] Fabius, by his generous contempt of thes
the conqueſt of Tarentum, ſhewed more pr
than Marcellus had done at Syracuſe. For w
officer aſked Fabius what he would have don
a great number of ſtatues which were found
city, and were ſo many Gods of a large ſtatu
preſented as fighting with each other, in a par
attitude, "*Let us leave the Tarentines*, ſays I
"*their angry Gods.*"

The ſecond Scipio, in the conqueſt of Ca
behaved in a manner ſtill more worthy the old I
greatneſs. [e] After he had ſeverely prohibited h
from ſeizing, or even buying any thing of the
he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come an
the ſtatues, which the Carthaginians had fo
taken from them; [f] and reſtoring to the Agrig
the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, th
monument of the cruelty of their ancient Kin
the mildneſs of their preſent maſters, ſhould
them which was the greateſt advantage, to b
the yoke of the Sicilians, or under the governn
the Roman people. Not, [g] ſays Cicero, th
great man, who had a mind ſo well improved,
either places for theſe curious works of art, o
ment to diſcern all their beauties. But ſurpaſſ
only in diſintereſtedneſs, but in delicacy of ta
our moſt refined connoiſſeurs, he judged tha
works were wrought not to ſatisfy the vain cu
much leſs the luxury of mankind, but to ſerve
naments in temples and cities. And as an [h] hi
judiciouſly obſerves, it were much to be wiſh
the benefit and honour of the republick, that t
ever retained the noble contempt of Scipio, c
the ignorance and groſs taſte of Mummius. Th
in tranſporting the moſt valuable part of the ſp
Corinth to Rome, was ſo little acquainted w

d Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 16.
e Cic. Ver. iv. n. 86.
f Ver. vi. n. 73.
g Ver. iv. n. 87. & Ver.
h Vell. Paterc. lib. i. n. 1

value and excellence of performances of this ſort, that he told the undertakers who were employed to bring them over, that if any of them were loſt, they ſhould be obliged to make them good at their own expence. The republick would have been happy if this pretended good taſte had never been introduced among them, as it opened a door to ſuch rapine and violence, as highly diſhonoured the Roman people among ſtrangers.

What Cicero relates of the horrible exceſſes into which this paſſion of collecting valuable veſſels and pictures led Verres, during the time of his prætorſhip in Sicily, is ſcarce credible. The generality of the other governors were not far behind hand with him in this kind of robbery. [i] But how great a difference was there between ſuch magiſtrates and the ancient Romans, who thought it a duty and an honour to leave this kind of ornaments to their allies, and even to the people tributary to them, that the one might be ſenſible of the mildneſs of the Roman government, and the other have ſome conſolation under their ſlavery?

### *Inſatiable avarice, injuſtice, rapine, ill treatment of the Allies and conquered Nations.*

[k] 'Tis a very juſt reflection in Tully, that the oracle of Apollo, which declared that Sparta ſhould never be ruined but by avarice, gave a prediction which concerned all other wealthy nations, beſides the Lacedæmonians. This oracle was verified in the caſe of the Roman republick more than in any other ſtate. All the hiſtorians who ſpeak of its ruin, agree that avarice was the cauſe of it, and that this avarice aroſe from riches and luxury. [l] In ſhort, from the moment that any one grows paſſionately fond of magnificence, grand equipages, fine furniture, plenty and elegance

i Ver. vi. n. 134.

k Lib. ii. de Offic. n. 77.

l Delectant magnifici apparatus, vitæque cultus cum elegantia & copia; quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut infinita pecuniæ cupiditas eſſet. De Offic. lib. i. n. 25.

in

in eating and drinking, 'tis a natural and neceſſary conſequence that he will ſet no bounds to his love of money, which buys all theſe things, and without which they cannot be procured [m].

Salluſt owns, after a great many reflections upon the cauſes of the grandeur and power of the ancient Romans, who often defeated numerous armies with a ſmall body of troops, and with a very moderate revenue ſupported long wars againſt very wealthy Kings, without loſing courage in the leaſt from any adverſity; Salluſt, I ſay, owns that Rome was indebted for this grandeur and power to a ſmall number only of illuſtrious citizens, whoſe excellent merit and ſolid virtue had rendered poverty victorious over riches, and a ſmall body of ſoldiers ſuperior to innumerable armies. But, adds he, from the time the citizens ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by luxury and idleneſs, Rome, like a woman paſt child-bearing, has ceaſed to produce great men; and though it ſtill ſubſiſted ſome time after, it was only in conſequence and by means of its ancient grandeur, which continued to ſupport the republick, notwithſtanding the weakneſs and vices of its governors.

It is worth while to compare thoſe happy times of the republick, when poverty was generally had in honour, with the latter ages, when pomp, luxury, and magnificence reigned, in conjunction with a mean and ſordid avarice. What great men were thoſe conſuls and dictators who were taken from the plough? What noble ſentiments, what magnanimity in the two Scipios, in Fabius, and in Paulus Æmilius? Did theſe ancient Romans ſet any value upon money? When [n] Pyrrhus endeavoured to corrupt the ſenate by preſents, was there one ſingle perſon in the city tempted to receive them? The caſe was much altered in the time of Jugurtha, who found means to gain the votes of almoſt all the ſenators by the influence of his bribes; [o] ſo that

[m] Salluſt. in bello Catilin.
[n] Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.
[o] Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

when

ien he was forced to leave Rome, turning his eyes ick upon it from time to time, he called it a city ady to be ſold to the higheſt bidder, and which nly wanted a purchaſer.

So long as this noble diſintereſtedneſs laſted, thoſe vho had the command of the troops, and the governnent of the provinces, inſtead of ſeeking to enrich hemſelves with the ſpoils of the allies or conquered people, looked upon themſelves as their fathers and guardians. [p] 'Twas then the principle of the Roman people to conquer leſs by force of arms than benefits, and to prefer the gaining of friends before the making of ſlaves. Neither the marches of their troops, nor the encampment of their armies, nor their winter quarters, nor the reſidence of the generals in any city, were any expence to the inhabitants. It was this conduct that acquired the Roman empire ſo much honour and eſteem. The ſenate then, ſays Tully, was the refuge and aſylum of Kings, people, and nations. Our magiſtrates and generals then placed their chief glory in defending the provinces, and ſupporting their allies with inviolable juſtice and fidelity. [q] Thus we were the protectors rather than the maſters of the world.

Let us hear the ſame Tully, and he will tell us how much things were altered in his time. [r] All the provinces, ſays he, groan, all free people are in deſolation, all kingdoms loudly complain of the violences and vexations they ſuffer from us. In the large extent of countries, which are terminated by the ocean, there is now no place ſo remote, whither the avarice and injuſtice of our generals and magiſtrates have not penetrated. It is now no longer poſſible to ſuſtain, I ſay, not the power, the arms, the invaſion of nations, but their cries, their complaints, and their reproaches. It is difficult, [s] ſays he in another place, to tell you

[p] Salluſt. ibid.

[q] Itaque illud patrocinium orbis terræ veriùs, quam imperium poterat nominari. De Off. lib. ii. n. 27.

[r] Verr. iv. n. 207.

[s] Pro Lege Manil. n. 65.

how odious the unjuſt and violent conduct of the governors, whom we ſend into our provinces, have made us to all foreign nations. There is no temple which they have held ſacred, no city which they have reſpected, no private houſe has been barred or inacceſſible to their avarice. This was the ſtate of the republick in late times, and if we enquire into the firſt cauſe and origin of all theſe diſorders, we ſhall find what I cannot repeat too often, that they were the inſatiable love of riches and luxury.

*Immoderate ambition, a boundleſs deſire of rule, attended with factions, ſeditions, murders, and the entire ſubverſion of liberty.*

[t] Tully, after Plato, lays down two eſſential rules to be obſerved by perſons employed in government. The firſt is to have no other view than the publick good, without the leaſt regard to their own private intereſt; the ſecond, to extend their cares equally to the whole body of the ſtate, without favouring one part more than another. For, adds he, a governor is a kind of guardian, and under that character muſt conſider the intereſt of the perſon committed to his care, and not his own. And he who ſhould take care of one part of the citizens only, and neglect the reſt, would introduce diſcord and ſedition, than which nothing can be more pernicious to ſtates.

Theſe may properly be ſaid to be the fundamental laws of every wiſe and well ordered government, and it was the exact obſervation of theſe rules, that formed the character of the good citizens and great men of the republick, as it was upon this plan, and theſe principles, the republick was firſt formed and eſtabliſhed. [u] When the authority of annual magiſtrates was ſubſtituted in the place of regal power, which was become unſupportable, the ſenate was conſidered as the perpetual and publick council of the ſtate, to be in a man-

[t] Offic. lib. i. n. 85. [u] Cic. Orat. pro Sext. n. 137.

ner

ter the ſoul and head of the republick, the guardian and defender of the laws, the protector of the liberty and privileges of the people; and all the citizens were admitted into this illuſtrious body, without any other diſtinction than that of virtue and merit. The magiſtrates gloried in reſpecting the authority of the ſenate, and were looked upon as the miniſters of that auguſt council, and the different orders of the ſtate contributed their peculiar luſtre to exalt the glory of the higheſt and moſt noble aſſembly. 'Twas this concert and union in promoting the publick good, which ſo long preſerved a good underſtanding in the republick, which gave ſucceſs to all the wars they undertook, and ſpread the glory and terror of the Roman name throughout the world. An oppoſite conduct produced the quite contrary effect.

[w] Before the deſtruction of Carthage, the diſputes among the citizens for power and authority were not carried to any exceſs of violence. The fear of foreign powers was a reſtraint which kept them within the bounds of moderation, and inſpired a reſpect for the laws. [x] Till then the Romans had not ventured to ſhed the blood of their citizens, and the higheſt exceſs of their civil diſſentions was carried no farther than to quit the city, and retire to the top of ſome neighbouring mountain. When Rome ſaw herſelf delivered from all apprehenſions of foreign enemies, licentiouſneſs and pride, the uſual conſequences of proſperity, ſoon diſturbed the union and concord which had till then prevailed. The nobility and people, the one under a pretext of ſupporting their dignity, and the other their liberty, fought each of them ſeparately to enlarge their authority, and engroſs all power to themſelves. [y] And moſt part of thoſe, who ſet themſelves

w Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

x Nondum erant tam fortes ad ſanguinem civilem, nec præter externa noverant bella, ultimaque rabies feceſſio ab ſuis habebatur. Liv. lib. vii. n. 40.

y Per illa tempora, quicunque rempublicam, agitavere, honeſtis nominibus, alii ſicuti jura populi defenderent, pars quo ſenatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum ſimulantes, pro ſuâ quiſque potentiâ certabant. Salluſt. in bello Cat.

at the head of the two parties, under the ſpecious title of defenders of the publick good, laboured in reality at nothing more than the eſtabliſhment of their own private power; and amidſt theſe two factions, the republick, torn by their diviſions, and given up as a prey to the ambition of her citizens, was always in a ſtate of ſubjection to the moſt powerful. [z] It muſt not be aſked which of the heads of theſe parties had moſt right and juſtice on their ſide; all were alike unjuſt, and all uſurpers of a power which did not belong to them. He who was the ſtrongeſt, and remained the conqueror, was always ſure to be applauded.

[a] We learn from hence, that nothing is more capable of extinguiſhing juſtice and the laws, than the paſſion for power and dominion over others; a paſſion the more dangerous, as it is covered over with the appearance of virtue and glory, and for that reaſon generally draws in ſuch as ſuppoſe themſelves diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind, by more noble ſentiments and a ſuperior greatneſs of mind.

We ſhall now ſee theſe fatal diſpoſitions diſcloſe themſelves by little and little, increaſe as it were by degrees with time, and at laſt end in the entire ſubverſion of liberty.

## *The* GRACCHI.

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, deſcended by their mother from the famous Scipio Africanus, ſupported the honour of their birth by an extraordinary merit. They had each of them great capacity, a noble ſoul, joined to a diſpoſition entirely diſintereſted, with an

[z] Boni & mali cives appellati, non ob merita in rempublicam, ... corruptis; ſed uti ... capacissimus, & injuriâ ... præſentia defendebat, ... Salluſt. in ...

... tur plerique, ... oblivio, cùm in imperiorum, honorum, gloriæ ... cupiditatem inciderunt. .... Eâ autem in hoc genere moleſtum, quòd in maximis animis ſplendidiſſimiſque ingeniis, plerumque exiſtunt honoris imperii, potentiæ, gloriæ cupiditates. Offic. lib. 1. n. 26.

irreſtible

irreſiſtible force of eloquence, to which were added a lively and ardent zeal for juſtice, a natural compaſſion for the miſerable, and an irreconcileable hatred againſt all oppreſſion; which oppoſition improved into a perſonal animoſity againſt the oppreſſors; It cannot be denied, but that theſe two illuſtrious brothers had very upright intentions, and that they had no other end in what they undertook, but an apparently neceſſary reformation; and that in ſhort they provided a remedy for ſeveral diſorders by wiſe regulations. But engagements formed at firſt with good views, and afterwards carried on with too much warmth, led them farther than they deſigned. They purſued what they had begun through a virtuous diſpoſition, with an inflexible obſtinacy, and by this means their great qualities, which might have been very uſeful to the ſtate, had they been conducted with diſcretion and moderation, became fatal and pernicious to it.

The principal ſubject of the diſcord that aroſe upon their account, was the law they propoſed concerning the diſtribution of lands, which, for that reaſon, was called the Agrarian law. When the Romans had got poſſeſſion of the lands of their neighbours by conqueſt, it was cuſtomary with them to ſell one part of them, to add the reſt to the domain of their republick, and to give theſe laſt to the pooreſt of the citizens, to make the beſt they could of them, upon condition that they paid into the publick treaſury a ſmall acknowledgment of rent every year. The rich having began to encroach upon them, to advance their rents, and by that means to drive the poor out of their poſſeſſions, a law was made, requiring that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land. This law laid a reſtraint upon the avarice of the rich for ſome time, but they afterwards found means to evade it, by cauſing the farm of thoſe lands to be adjudged to themſelves under borrowed names; and at laſt holding them openly themſelves, the poor were reduced to extreme miſery, and Italy in danger of being overſtocked with

the ſlaves and Barbarians, whom the rich made uſe of to cultivate the lands, of which they had diſpoſſeſſed the citizens.

This practice was moſt ſhamefully ſcandalous, and the law propoſed by the Gracchi ſeemed extremely reaſonable. They were at firſt content to ordain, that the rich ſhould quit the lands they had uſurped, upon receiving from the publick the price of the poſſeſſions they ſo unjuſtly held, and that the citizens who ſtood in need of them ſhould enter upon them in their ſtead. "Why, [b] ſaid they to the people, the wild beaſts find "holes and dens to creep into in the mountains and "foreſts of Italy, and ſhall thoſe brave Romans, who "are expoſed to fight and die for the defence of Italy, "enjoy no more than the light and air, which cannot "be taken from them, and be obliged to wander in "the fields with their wives and children, without "houſe or home? They only fight and die to in-"creaſe the revenue and ſupport the luxury of the "rich, and theſe pretended maſters of the world (for "ſo they are called) have not one ſingle inch of "ground which is properly their own."

There are ſometimes diſorders in a ſtate which cannot be remedied without ruining the ſtate itſelf: As in ſome diſeaſes of the human body, the cure cannot be attempted without an almoſt certain danger of death. The men of the greateſt probity at Rome, and ſuch ſenators as were moſt inclined to promote the publick good, ſaw plainly how fatal the conſequences would be of the laws propoſed by the Gracchi; and their misfortune was, as [c] Tully obſerves, that they did not agree in opinion and conduct with that moſt ſound and wiſe part of the republick. [d] It coſt both of them their lives; and their tragical end ſeemed to erect the ſtandard of bloody diſſentions, and give the citizens the ſignal of riſing in arms againſt each other to ſatisfy the ambition of particular men. From

[b] Plut. in vit. Gracch. n. 41.
[c] Cic. Orat. de Haruſp. reſp. [d] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 1.

that

time the laws gave way to violence; the moſt erful lorded it over the reſt; the civil diſſentions, :h till then had ended in pacifick treaties, came e decided only by force of arms; and as ill exles continually increaſe, the citizens blood was after ſeen to flow in large ſtreams through the ts of Rome, and Roman armies to march with r enſigns diſplayed againſt each other.

## II. MARIUS *and* SYLLA.

Marius and Sylla, both born with excellent talents, an inſtance of the exceſs of rage and cruelty, to ch ambition may riſe, when it is not retained with- uſt bounds by ſentiments of honour and probity, a love for the publick good. They ſeem to have all the other qualities neceſſary to form great men. Defect of birth in Marius was hid by the moſt nent virtues. Inured from his infancy to a ſevere , and afterwards brought up, not in ſtudying of ek, nor after the delicate manner then practiſed Rome, but in the laborious exerciſes of the camp, preſently became a maſter in the art of war, and ted his ſkill in it to as great a height of perfection ny officer had ever done. Capable of the greateſt erprizes in the field, moderate in his particular con- t, and far removed from pleaſure and avarice, he no other paſſion than that of glory. He behaved ſelf in ſuch a manner in all the offices wherein was employed, that he ſeemed always deſerving ter. And the reſt of his life was anſwerable to beginning. The ſeveral conſulſhips which were ceſſively conferred upon him, the war with Jugurhappily terminated, the overthrow of the innuable armies of Barbarians which ravaged Italy in battles, wherein above three hundred thouſand e killed or taken, are circumſtances which ſhew abilities of Marius.

e Salluſt. in bello Jugurth.

' Sylla, though of a very different character, was inferior to him in no reſpect. He was of a patrician family, and perfectly inſtructed in polite literature. He had a lofty ſoul, loved pleaſure, but was fonder of glory. His leiſure moments he ſpent in diverſions, but never delayed the diſpatch of buſineſs upon their account. He was eloquent, of refined wit, and an obliging friend, of profound ſecrecy and diſſimulation, liberal, or rather prodigal. Though before the civil wars he might have been conſidered as the moſt fortunate man in Rome, yet his merit never appeared below his fortune, and it could not eaſily be decided whether he was more happy or more brave. What proofs of courage, boldneſs, prudence and ability, did he give in all the wars wherein he commanded, and eſpecially in the war with Mithridates the moſt formidable enemy of the Romans?

Thus they were certainly great men, and very deſerving our eſteem, if we judge of greatneſs and glory by honours, talents, or great exploits. But here we muſt call to mind the truth which I have advanced in the preceding volume, that man is to be judged of by the heart, and the want of integrity and probity can never be atoned for by the moſt ſhining qualities.

What a ſhameful part did a violent deſire of obtaining the conſulſhip make Marius at firſt act? becauſe Metellus, under whom he ſerved as lieutenant, ſeemed to diſapprove of his deſign. He in the warmth of his rage againſt him, and conſulting only his own reſentment and ambition, firſt privately took pains to diſcredit him among the ſoldiery, and preſently after becoming the declared enemy and calumniator of his general, ſupplanted him by unworthy methods, and got himſelf appointed his ſucceſſor to terminate the war againſt Jugurtha. The whole glory of it however did not fall to his ſhare. His quæſtor Sylla, into whoſe hand Jugurtha was delivered, carried off a great part of it from him; and proud of an even

' Salluſt. *ibid.*

that

that was ſo glorious to him, cauſed the picture of it to be engraven on a ring, and ever after made uſe of it as a ſeal; which gave Marius an irreconcileable averſion for him, and was the firſt ſource of their diviſions.

[g] Paterculus wonderfully deſcribes the character of Marius in a few words. He was a man, ſays he, eager after glory, and inſatiable in the purſuit of it; violent in his deſires, and devoured by a reſtleſs ambition, *Immodicus gloriæ, inſatiabilis, impotens, ſemperque inquietus.* When he was candidate for a ſixth conſulſhip, there was no degree of meanneſs he did not ſubmit to, that he might gain the favour of the people, nor any unworthy or criminal method he did not make uſe of, ſo far as to join with two of the moſt [h] infamous wretches in the city, [i] in order to prevent the election of [k] Metellus, who was one of his competitors, and a man of the greateſt probity in the republick; and proceeded ſo far as to procure his baniſhment by falſhood and perjury, [k] which according to him were part of the merit and ability of a great man.

How great muſt be the torments of an ambitious mind? So many honours heaped upon Marius, ſix conſulſhips [l] ſucceſſively conferred upon him, of which there never was a precedent, immenſe riches acquired in a very ſhort time, victories without number, and over enemies of every kind; ſeveral triumphs, and every one more glorious than the other; all this accumulation of grandeur and proſperity made but a light impreſſion upon the heart of this ambitious man; whilſt the riſing glory of Sylla, which was perpetually upon the increaſe, raged within him, diſtracted and tormented him like a madman.

[m] His jealouſy was awakened upon the election of a general to be ſent againſt Mithridates. He could not

[g] Lib. ii. n. 11.

[h] Glaucia & Saturninus.

[i] The ſame perſon who has been already mentioned.

[k] Αὐτὸν τὶ; ἀρετῆς ἡ πανοῦργος. Plut. in vit. Mar.

[l] There were only two years between the firſt and ſecond.

[m] Plut. in vit. Mar.

bear that this command ſhould be given to his rival. Though worn out with fatigues, feeble with age, and grown very unwieldy, he endeavoured to ſhew himſelf in the field of Mars, among the young men who exerciſed themſelves there in riding and fencing. A ſpectacle, which moved pity in all worthy and ſenſible men. They could not imagine that at his years, after ſo many triumphs, and having acquired ſo much glory, he could think of marching into Cappadocia, and to the extremity of the Euxine ſea, to exhauſt the remains of his old age in fighting againſt the nobles of Mithridates. Yet he was nominated by the people to command in the war, and Sylla obliged to fly to ſave his life.

But Sylla within a ſmall time returned to Rome at the had of a numerous army, and Marius, after a weak reſiſtance, was in his turn obliged to fly. A price was ſet upon his head, and the tribune Sulpicius was ſtrangled. Sylla, without tarrying any longer at Rome, marched directly againſt Mithridates, as fully aſſured that the victories he ſhould gain over ſo formidable an enemy, would contribute more than any thing to ſtrengthen his authority.

The abſence of Sylla gave Marius an opportunity of returning. He had run through ſtrange adventures, been obliged to fly trembling from city to city, to hide himſelf ſometimes in foreſts and ſometimes in a moraſs. His entrance into Rome was followed by the murder of an infinite number of citizens, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in the city that adhered to the party of Sylla.

In the mean time a report was ſpread that Sylla had put an end to the war with Mithridates, and was returning to Rome with a vaſt army. Marius, who had procured himſelf to be choſen conſul for the ſeventh time, was ſo alarmed at the news, that he could never ſleep, and contracted a diſtemper, of which he died ſoon after. It is ſaid that in the delirium, which never left him, he would talk and act as if he were fighting

fighting againſt Mithridates. [n] So deeply had his deſire of commanding, and his natural jealouſy imprinted in his heart a ſtrong and violent paſſion for the conduct of that war.

The cruelty of Marius ſeemed a trifle in compariſon of what was afterwards exerciſed by Sylla. He filled Rome with continual and endleſs murders, and ſet no value upon the lives of the citizens. He proſcribed at different times an immenſe number, and forbad all people upon pain of death, to receive or ſhelter any that were proſcribed, without excepting the perſon that ſhould ſave a brother, a ſon, or a father; and even propoſed a reward for the homicide, either in the caſe of a ſlave that ſhould kill his maſter, or a ſon that ſhould cut the throat of his own father. The death of the proſcribed was followed by the confiſcation of their goods. [o] Thus avarice gave occaſion to cruelty: Riches were guilt, and every one appeared criminal in proportion to the wealth he poſſeſſed, which at once became the danger of the rich, and the recompence of the murderer. Sylla nominated and declared himſelf dictator, a title which had not been known at Rome for a hundred and twenty years before. He paſſed an act of general oblivion for all that was paſt, and cauſed himſelf to be inveſted with full power for the future, of putting to death what citizens he pleaſed; of confiſcating eſtates, diſtributing lands, deſtroying cities, building others, taking away kingdoms, and conferring them on whomſoever he pleaſed.

But what is ſcarce to be comprehended, after he had put to death ſo many thouſands, introduced into the republick ſuch ſtrange changes and unheard-of innovations, he ventured to reſign the dictatorſhip, to live

[n] Οὕτω δεινὸς αὐτῷ ἡ δυσπαραμύθητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας ἡ ζηλοτυπία τοῦ πράξεων ἐκείνων. Plut in vit. Mar.

[o] Id quoque acceſſit, ut ſævitiæ cauſam avaritia præberet, & modus culpæ ex pecuniæ modo conſtitueretur, & qui fuiſſet locuples fieret nocens, ſuique quiſque periculi merces foret. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 22.

as a private man, and ended his days in his bed, without one man being found among ſo many citizens whoſe fathers, brothers and children, he had put to death, to attempt his life: Divine juſtice reſerved the puniſhmet of him to itſelf. He was ſtruck with an horrible diſeaſe, and made the prey of a ſhameful and cruel vermin, which continually increaſing in his corrupted fleſh, and admitting of no remedy, infected the whole houſe with an inſupportable ſtench, and at laſt brought him to a miſerable end.

We learn from Marius and Sylla how very fatal the conſequences of a miſguided ambition may prove. It is leſs to be wondered that Marius, who had always ſomething rough, auſtere and ſavage in his diſpoſition, [p] *hirtus atque horridus*, unimproved by ſtudy or education, and in a manner uncivilized, ſhould carry his revenge and cruelty the lengths he did. But ſuch exceſſes are almoſt incredible in a man of [q] Sylla's character, who had always appeared mild, humane, tender and compaſſionate, even ſo as to weep at the misfortunes of others; one that from his youth had been addicted to gaiety and pleaſures, and who managed his fortune at firſt with ſo much wiſdom and moderation. Could this, ſays Plutarch, be a change of temper and manners ariſing from high honours and great proſperity? Or was it the bare irruption of a ſecret depravity concealed in his heart, which his abſolute power gave him an opportunity of diſplaying? Be that as it will, we muſt conclude that ambition, when a rival is to be removed, is capable of the blackeſt crimes and the moſt inhuman cruelties.

That of Sylla produced very fatal effects, for ſeveral ages after. Poſſeſſed with a boundleſs paſſion for power, he was the firſt, who to gain the affection of the troops, corrupted them by a ſervile complaiſance and exceſſive bribes. He taught them that it was in

[p] Paterc. [q] Plut. in Syl.

their

their power to give lords to the empire; and it was from this firſt example that the legions began to conſider themſelves as having an abſolute right, excluſive even of the ſenate, to diſpoſe of the empire, to advance and depoſe Emperors at their pleaſure, without paying any regard to the merit of the beſt and greateſt Princes.

## III. Cæsar, Pompey.

We have here two other ambitious men, of a character very different from the former; as their ambition covered and ſupported by the moſt glorious qualities, ſeems leſs worthy of blame, and was yet no leſs pernicious to the republick.

Theſe two great men had no ſuperiors in antiquity, if we conſider only their military virtues, their enterprizes and victories, which filled the univerſe with the glory of their name.

[r] Cæſar in leſs than ten years, when he commanded in Gaul, took above eight hundred cities by force; ſubdued three hundred nations, fought at ſeveral times in pitched battles againſt three millions of enemies, a million of which he cut in pieces, and took another million priſoners. For which reaſon an hiſtorian ſays, that in reſpect to the greatneſs of his projects, the rapidity of his conqueſts, his courage and intrepidity in dangers, he might be compared to Alexander the Great, but then only while Alexander was neither heated with wine nor angry. [s] *Magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientiâ periculorum, magno illi Alexandro, ſed ſobrio neque iracundo, ſimillimus.*

The encomiums which [t] Tully gives in a thouſand places to Pompey's merit, are extremely honourable. From his youth he ſignalized himſelf by great commands and important expeditions. He had a ſhare in more battles than thoſe of his rank and age had uſu-

r Plut. in Cæſar.
s Paterc. lib. ii. n. 41.
t Pro Cornel. Balb. n. 9. — Pro leg. Manil. n. 28. & 41.

ally

ally read. He gained as many triumphs as the world has different parts, and as many victories as there are different ſorts of war. Succeſs and courage had ſo conſtantly attended on him, that he might be ſaid, in ſome manner, to be exalted above the condition of humanity. And laſtly, all the moral virtues, probity, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs and religion, had acquired him an immenſe reputation amongſt foreign nations, and taught them to believe that what was told of the virtue of the antient Romans was not a fable.

Take ambition from theſe two rivals, and ſubſtitute inſtead of it a real love for their country, and, I repeat it again, antiquity has never produced two greater men: But the one could not bear a ſuperior, nor the other an equal. Pompey, [u] ſays an hiſtorian, was exempt from almoſt every fault, if it was not one of the greateſt, that being born in a city that was free and ſovereign of nations, in which by right all the citizens were equal, he could not bear that any one ſhould be equal to him in dignity and power. [w] And Cæſar, reſolving to rule and lord it over the reſt, at any rate, had thoſe verſes of Euripides continually in his mouth, which inſinuate, that if the greateſt crimes were to be committed, it was when a throne was the motive.

*Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratiâ*
*Violandum eſt; aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

[x] The triumvirate formed between Pompey, Cæſar and Craſſus, with a view only to their private intereſts, and which occaſioned their own deſtruction, no leſs than the ruin of the republick, ſhews what we are to think of the ſo much boaſted probity of the great Pompey. [y] He went ſtill farther, and to ſtrengthen his power, was not aſhamed to take Cæſar for his father-in-law, adopting by that alliance all his criminal

[u] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 29.
[w] Cic. lib. v. Offic. n. 82.
[x] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 44.
[y] Cic. lib. iii. de Off. n. 82.

views

views and deſigns, the injuſtice of which he better knew than any body. [z] Thus Cato, in reply to ſome perſons, who were ſaying that the differences which had aroſe between Pompey and Cæſar had ruined the commonwealth, no, ſays he, *it was their union.*

Cato was not miſtaken. He had foreſeen all that happened afterwards. Finding the laws overthrown, the authority of the ſenate deſpiſed, the people corrupted by bribes, the firſt places in the commonwealth publickly ſold for money, and even with Pompey's knowledge and conſent, he did not forbear to inform the ſenate and people, that they were labouring to give themſelves a maſter, and to diveſt themſelves of the moſt valuable part of their ſubſtance, which was their liberty.

It fell out as he had foretold. Diſcord at laſt broke out: the two parties took up arms; [a] the one ſeemed to have more juſtice on his ſide, the other more force. Here the pretence was the more ſpecious, and there the meaſures the moſt wiſely taken. Pompey relied upon the authority of the ſenate, and Cæſar upon the valour of his ſoldiers. But the ſtep which Pompey took, of quitting Rome and Italy, took off very much from the high opinion which had before been conceived of his merit.

All the world is acquainted with the ſucceſs of this civil war. After a great deal of bloodſhed, and that the beſt blood in the republick, Cæſar remained conqueror, and aſſumed a ſovereign power to which the diadem only was wanting, with the title of King, to gratify his ambition; and this he tried ſeveral times in vain to obtain by his emiſſary. It was this which haſtened his death, and, by a laſt effort of expiring liberty, armed againſt him the hands of his beſt friends, and thoſe upon whom he had conferred the greateſt

[z] Plut. in Pomp.

[a] Alterius ducis cauſa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia ſpecioſa, illic valentia. Pompeium ſenatûs auctoritas, Cæſarem militum armavit fiducia. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 49.

benefits,

benefits. It was looked upon as the effect of Divine vengeance, that this uſurper, who had purſued Pompey to his deſtruction, after he had made uſe of his intereſt to eſtabliſh his own tyranny, ſhould fall dead, and covered with wounds, at the foot of that Pompey's ſtatue.

## IV. *The Young* OCTAVIUS.

Matters were now brought to that degree of diſorder and confuſion in the Roman republick, which Polybius ſpeaks of, where the only remedy for the preſent, is the ſupreme authority of a powerful man, as alone capable of reſtoring order and regularity. This man was the young Octavius, deſtined to introduce a new form of government. He was the ſon of Julius Cæſar's niece, who had adopted him, and declared him his heir by will, and he was not then quite twenty years old. As ſoon as he heard the news of his uncle's death, he made haſte to Rome, took the name of Cæſar, diſtributed all the money the deceaſed had left him among the citizens, and by that means formed a powerful party againſt Anthony, who aſpired to the government.

Tully was the perſon that contributed moſt to the advancement of the young Cæſar. I beg leave here to explain at large the part which Tully had in this great event. I have endeavoured in the ſecond volume to give ſome idea of his genius and eloquence, and it may not be improper here to take a view of him as a politician and member of the ſtate. An author who is ſeldom out of the hands of youth, ought to be known by them in every light.

Tully was then very powerful in the republick; all eyes were turned upon him as the ſtrongeſt bulwark and firmeſt defender of liberty. His hatred againſt Anthony, whoſe reſentment he had cauſe to fear, very much contributed to make him incline to Octavius's party. But he was alſo more attached to him,

ſays

ſays [b] Plutarch, through a ſecret motive of vanity and ambition, as hoping that the arms of this young man would ſecure and increaſe his own power and authority in the government, for the good of the republick.

This was always the weak ſide of Cicero, which induced him to make ſo mean a court to Cæſar after his victory, and which even hindered him from diſtruſting Pompey as he ſhould have done, and as he was adviſed to do, [c] by being told that he muſt not always rely on his fine ſpeeches, and that it was eaſy, amidſt all his fair diſcourſe, to diſcover what he aimed at and deſired. But Tully would be praiſed, flattered, conſidered and employed. A commendation in which there appeared ſome reſerve was capable, if not to make a quarrel, at leaſt to make him behave with coldneſs to his beſt friends; as actually happened in the caſe of Brutus, [d] who upon ſome occaſion had only called him an *excellent conſul*. And what, ſays Cicero, could an enemy have ſaid more ſparingly? On the other hand, whoever praiſed and careſſed him might get from him whatever they would. The young Cæſar was not ſparing in this point. He was continually loading him with civilities and flatteries, called him his father, ſeemed inclined to depend entirely upon him, and do nothing without his advice. And for this reaſon Tully, who was extremely warm in the purſuit of every thing he had at heart, [e] ſo highly extolled him in the ſenate and before the people, and procured him ſo many privileges, diſpenſations and extraordinary honours, in preferring the courage with

[b] In vit. Cic.

[c] Pompeius ſolet aliud ſentire & loqui: neque tamen tantum valet ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. Epiſt. i. lib. 8. ad Famil.

[d] Hic autem (Brutus) ſe etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quòd ſcripſerit optimum conſulem. Quis enim jejuniùs dixit inimicus? Ad Att. lib. 12. Epiſt. 22.

[e] Laudo, laudo vos, quirites, cùm gratiſſimis animis proſequimini nomen clariſſimi adoleſcentis, vel potiùs pueri: ſunt enim facta ejus immortalitatis, non ætatis. Multa memini, multa audivi, multa legi; nihil tale cognovi, &c. Philip. iv. n. 3. Qui niſi eſſet in hac republicâ natus, rempublicam ſcelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Phil. iii, n. 5.

which

which he had oppoſed himſelf to Anthony above all the moſt glorious actions. And as men of underſtanding, who doubtleſs diſcerned a great fund of ambition, joined with conſiderable merit in the young Cæſar, were apprehenſive that ſuch particular diſtinctions might be attended with ill conſequences, and the publick liberty ſuffer by them, [f] Tully to reconcile them perſiſted in repeating, that inſtead of taking any alarm at them, they ought on the contrary to have the higheſt expectations from this young man, whoſe ſentiments he was thoroughly acquainted with, and knew that he held nothing more dear than the republick, nothing more deſerving his reſpect than the authority of the ſenate, nothing more valuable than the eſteem of good men, nor any thing more pleaſing and agreeable than true glory.

[g] Brutus, though at a diſtance from Rome and the center of buſineſs, expreſſed the ſame fears and apprehenſions. He repreſented to him, that as he was placed in the higheſt degree of authority and credit, that a citizen could have in a free city, and to the ſatisfaction of all his friends, he became in a manner reſponſible for all events; that to a man in his ſtation good intentions were not ſufficient, unleſs they were attended with prudence; that in the preſent conjuncture, the principal effect of prudence was to be cautious of the honours that were conferred on thoſe who did ſervice to the republick; as the ſenate ought never to grant any thing to a private man, which might become of pernicious example to ſuch as were ill diſpoſed, or even ſupply them with arms and forces againſt the ſtate.

Tully was not thoroughly ſenſible of the wiſdom and importance of this advice, till Auguſtus began to treat him with coldneſs. [h] He then grew ſenſible what a weight he had laid upon himſelf in paſſing his word for him to the republick, and became

[f] Philip. v. n. 50, 51.
[g] Brut. Ep. iii. ad Cic.
[h] Epiſt. xvii. Cicer. ad Brutum.

appre-

apprehenſive that he ſhould ſcarce be able to make good his promiſe. Not that he yet abſolutely deſpaired of it; he thought he ſaw a remedy in his very propoſition, but he feared the inconſtancy and fickleneſs of his age, and dreaded ſtill more the tribe of flatterers, that were conſtantly around him, and laboured inceſſantly to turn his head with falſe ideas of a vain and trifling grandeur.

The conſpirators, at whoſe head was Brutus, were at firſt highly honoured and commended. And Auguſtus himſelf, by purſuing Anthony as an enemy of the republick, ſeemed to declare openly in their favour. But when he ſaw his power entirely eſtabliſhed, he no longer diſſembled, but threw off the maſk. This alteration was very grievous to Cicero, who plainly foreſaw the conſequences of it, which he was no longer in a condition to prevent. He wrote him a letter upon the ſubject, in which he implored his protection for the conſpirators, but in ſuch a manner as highly offended Brutus, to whom Atticus, their common friend, and doubtleſs with Tully's conſent, had ſent a copy of the letter. Brutus expreſſed his grief and aſtoniſhment at it to both of them, in two letters, which well deſerve to be read, as they ſhew by the generous and noble ſentiments they contain, that this great defender of liberty was juſtly called the laſt of the Romans. I hope it may not be unacceptable if I here quote ſome paſſages from them.

[h] In the letter to Cicero, after the firſt compliments, he opens his heart to him upon the mean and ſubmiſſive manner in which he wrote to Octavius, which might almoſt occaſion a ſuſpicion that Cicero thought they had only changed their maſter, and not ſhook off the yoke of dominion. *All that is required of him*, you ſay to him, is, *that he would be pleaſed to protect and defend the citizens, who are eſteemed and valued by men of probity and the Roman people.* Are we then at the diſcretion of Octavius, and ruined unleſs he pleaſes

[h] Lib. Ep. ad Brut. Ep. 15.

to

to protect us? 'Twere better to die a hundred deaths, than to be indebted to him for living. [i] I do not think the Gods ſo much the enemies of Rome, as to require that the preſervation of any citizen, and much leſs of the deliverers of the world, ſhould be aſked of Octavius as a favour. For I think it proper to talk in this high ſtrain to perſons ignorant of what every one has to fear, and of whom any thing is to be aſked. Are we then upon the point of ſettling the conditions of ſlavery, and not of aboliſhing the ſlavery itſelf? What matters it whether 'tis Cæſar, or Anthony, or Octavius that reigns? Have we only taken up arms to change our maſter, and not to aſſert our liberty? The Gods ſhall rather take my life from me a hundred times, than take from me the reſolution of not ſuffering. I ſay not, that the heir of him I have ſlain ſhould reign in his place, but that my very father, were he to live again, ſhould make himſelf lord of the laws and ſenate. You intreat for our ſecurity and return to Rome; but be aſſured that we value neither the one nor the other, if they are to be bought at the price of our honour and liberty. [k] To live, in my opinion, is to be at a diſtance from ſlavery, and from thoſe who are friends to it. Every place ſhall be Rome to me, where I can be free. [l] Take care therefore that you do not hereafter recommend me to that Cæſar; nor, if I have any credit with you, yourſelf either. The few years you have left to live, are of ſtrange value to you, if they can induce you to make abject ſupplications to that boy. For my own part, I am reſolved not to be led by the

[i] Ego medius fidius non exiſtimo tam omnes deos averſos eſſe à ſalute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus ſit pro ſalute cujuſquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certè decet adversùs ignorantes quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum ſit.

[k] Ego verò longè à ſervientibus abero, mihique judicabo eſſe Romam, ubicumque locorum eſſe licebit.

[l] Me verò poſthac ne commendaveris Cæſari tuo, ne te quidem ipſum, ſi me audies. Valdè carè æſtimas tot annos quot iſta ætas recipit, ſi propter eam cauſam puero iſti ſupplicaturus es.

weakneſs

weakneſs or deſertion of others. There is nothing I ſhall omit to preſerve our common country from ſlavery; [m] and I ſhall look with pity upon thoſe, in whom neither their advanced age, the glory of their paſt actions, nor the example of courage which others ſet them, can diminiſh a fondneſs for living. If our deſires, and the juſtice of our cauſe meet with ſucceſs, we ſhall be ſatisfied. But if things happen otherwiſe, I ſhall not judge myſelf at all the more unhappy, as I think myſelf born to defend and deliver my country, and that life is only deſirable on this account.

[n] In his letter to Atticus, he expreſſes himſelf with ſtill greater force and freedom. I agree, ſays he, that Cicero had a very good intention in all that he has done. No body is better acquainted with his affection and zeal for the republick than I am. But upon this occaſion ſhall I ſay, that his wiſdom is miſtaken, or that he has been too much guided by policy? he who was not afraid, for the ſafety of the ſtate, to make Anthony his enemy? This I am ſure of, that by treating Octavius as he has, he has only nouriſhed and inflamed his ambition and preſumption. He boaſts of having put an end to the war againſt Anthony, without moving a ſingle ſtep from Rome. Did he do this only to give him a ſucceſſor? I am grieved that I am forced to write thus to you. But you have deſired me to lay open my heart with entire freedom. How imprudent is it through a blind fear to draw upon ourſelves the ills we apprehend, and which poſſibly we may avoid? [o] death, baniſhment and poverty are too terrible to us. Cicero ſeems to judge theſe the worſt of misfortunes; and provided he finds perſons who

[m] Ac veſtri miſerebor, quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit.

[n] Ibid. Epiſt. 16.

[o] Nimium timemus mortem, exilium, & paupertatem. Hæc mihi videntur Ciceroni ultima eſſe in malis: &, dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur ac laudetur, ſervitutem, honorificam modò, non aſpernatur: ſi quicquam in extremâ ac miſerrimâ contumeliâ poteſt honorificum eſſe.

reſpect and commend him, and from whom he may obtain what he deſires, he is in no dread of ſlavery, in caſe it be honourable; if indeed any thing can be honourable, in the loweſt and moſt wretched degree of infamy. Octavius, indeed, may well call Cicero his father, and ſeem willing to depend entirely upon him, and load him with commendations and civilities. We ſhall ſoon ſee how much his words and actions diſagree. Is any thing, in ſhort, more oppoſite to common ſenſe, than to call him father, whom we don't look upon as a free man? But it is eaſy to ſee, that the good Cicero labours only to make Octavius favourable to him. [p] I no longer ſet any value upon all his philoſophy. For of what uſe are thoſe noble ſentiments to him, with which his books are filled, where he treats of death and baniſhment, of poverty and ſolid glory, of real honour, and the zeal which every man ought to ſhew for the liberty of his country? [q] Let Cicero then live in ſubmiſſion and ſervitude, ſince he is capable of it, and neither his age, nor his honours, nor his paſt actions make him aſhamed to ſuffer it! For my own part, no condition of ſlavery, how honourable ſoever it may appear, ſhall hinder me from declaring war againſt tyranny, againſt decrees irregularly made, againſt unjuſt dominion, and every power that would ſet itſelf above the laws. He concludes his letter with declaring, that though his friendſhip for Cicero is not at all leſſened, yet he could not avoid thinking of him with far leſs eſteem than formerly, as it is not in our own power to judge otherwiſe of men than from the idea we have conceived of them.

Every thing fell out as Brutus had foreſeen. Octavius ſoon perceived that the men of probity, who were all zealous for liberty, deſigned to reſtrain

p Ego verò jam iis artibus nihil nihilo, quibus ſcio Ciceronem in-ſtructiſſimum eſſe. Quid enim illi proſunt quæ pro libertate patriæ, quæ de dignitate, de morte, exilio, paupertate ſcripſit copioſiſſime?

q Vivat hercule Cicero, ea-que poteſt, ſupplex & obnoxius, ſi re-que ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum geſtarum pudet.

his

s authority within the juſt bounds of lawful power. e learnt alſo that Cicero, who ſeldom or ever ſtifled s jeſt, and valued himſelf upon his ſkill in raillery, iat Cicero, I ſay, by an ambiguous expreſſion, which not to be expreſſed in any other language than the atin, ſpoke of him as of a young man that was to e praiſed and honoured, and then taken off. [r] *Laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, tollendum.* But the ther ſharply replied, that he would take effectual are that it ſhould not happen ſo. *Se non eſſe commiſſurum ut tolli poſſit.*

He took effectual care, indeed, by declaring himſelf at once againſt the conſpirators, to commence a proceſs againſt them. Then Cæſar, Lepidus and Anthony being reconciled, and forming amongſt themſelves that famous league which is ſo well known by the name of the ſecond triumvirate, they divided the provinces, made that horrible proſcription of above two hundred of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, and ſet a price upon their heads. We ſee here again how cruel and violent ambition is, even in ſuch perſons as appear to be of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and how it extinguiſhes all ſenſe of honour, probity and gratitude. [s] Cæſar, to compaſs his end, after a weak and faint reſiſtance, ſacrificed his benefactor, the artificer of his fortune, in a word, the perſon he called father, to the hatred of Anthony. He who for ſo many years had employed his voice in defending the intereſts both of private perſons and the publick, died without finding any one to defend himſelf.

[t] What a ſad ſpectacle! The head of Cicero was placed between his two hands upon that very roſtrum, from whence as conſul, and afterwards as a perſon of conſular dignity, he had ſo often made his voice to be heard; and where that very year he had declaimed againſt Anthony, with more than human elo-

[r] Ep. xi. lib. xx. ad Famil. [s] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 66. [t] Liv. in fragm.

quence

quence and unprecedented applauſe. He was three-ſcore and three years old when he died, ſo that his death might not have ſeemed untimely if it had not been violent. His genius diſtinguiſhed itſelf as well by his works, which were the fruits of it, as the honours which were the reward of it. His ſtate of proſperity, which was of long ſtanding, was mixed with very ſevere trials, with baniſhment, the ruin of the party he had embraced, the death of a daughter he affectionately loved, and ſo unhappy and tragical an end. Of all theſe misfortunes, death was the only one he bore like a man of courage. After all, ſet the good againſt the ill, and we may truly ſay that he was a very great man, of a very extenſive genius, and deſerving the admiration of all ages; and that to give him his juſt praiſe, would require another Cicero.

[u] St. Auguſtine ſpeaking of this event, obſerves how limited the views of the moſt prudent men are, and how ſhort-ſighted we are in relation to the future. Cicero had warmly eſpouſed the party of the young Cæſar, in hopes of ſurmounting, by his intereſt, that of Anthony his enemy, and of reſtoring liberty by his means; and directly the contrary fell out. 'Twas this young man which gave him up to the rage of Anthony, and within a little time after uſurped dominion, and made himſelf maſter of the republick.

To reſume the ſeries of the narration and conclude. Cæſar delivered from his two rivals, by events which it would be too long to relate here, found himſelf maſter of all that was ſubject to the Romans. [w] He then conſulted with Agrippa and Mecænas, his moſt intimate friends, whether he ſhould reſtore the republick to its ancient liberty, by reſigning the authority into the hands of the ſenate and people, or whether he ſhould take upon himſelf the ſovereign power. Agrippa, tho' he was the companion of his fortune, and the huſband of his niece, was of the firſt opinion. Me-

[u] De Civit. Dei. lib. iii. c. 30. [w] Dio lib. lii. M. de Tillem. vie d'Aug.

cænas

repreſented to him, by a great many reaſons, ie ſtate could not ſubſiſt but under a monarchy; e could not himſelf reſign his authority without r of his life; but that he would find it his glory, las his ſecurity, to govern in a juſt and equita- anner. Cæſar therefore complied with this lvice. M. de St. Evremont has given us a de- on of his government and genius, which well es to be read. I ſhall here inſert an extract

After the tyranny of the triumvirate, and the olation which the civil war had wrought, he was oſed at laſt to govern a people by reaſon, whom had ſubdued by force; and diſguſted at the vio- ce to which he was led, perhaps by the neceſ- of his affairs, he was pleaſed to eſtabliſh an py ſubjection, which was farther removed from ery than from their ancient liberty.

One of his greateſt and moſt conſtant cares, was make the Romans taſte the happineſs of his go- nment, and render his dominion as inſenſible them as poſſible. He caſt off even the very ies that might diſpleaſe them, and eſpecially re- ed the character of dictator, which was deteſted ylla, and odious in Cæſar himſelf.

The generality of perſons who raiſe themſelves, me new titles to authorize their new power. choice to conceal a new power under familiar es and common titles of honour. He cauſed ſelf to be called * Emperor from time to time, preſerve his authority over the legions; he was ated tribune, to diſpoſe of the people, and was ed Prince of the ſenate, to govern it. But by ing ſo many different powers in his perſon, he rged himſelf alſo with different employments, and ame the general, the magiſtrate, and the ſenator,

tranſmitted the title of r to his ſucceſſor, as alſo * Auguſtus, which he re- ceived after the famous battle of Actium.

" when he had attained the ſovereignity. Thus he " made no other uſe of his power, than to remove " the confuſion which univerſally prevailed. He re- " ſtored the people to their rights, and retrenched only " the convulſing that was uſual in the election of " magiſtrates. He reſtored the ſenate to their ancient " ſplendor, after he had firſt baniſhed corruption " from it. For he contented himſelf with a mode- " rate power, which did not leave him the liberty of " doing ill; but he exerciſed an abſolute one, when " he was to impoſe upon others the neceſſity of doing " well. Thus the people were as free as before in " every other reſpect but that of being ſeditious; " and the ſenate was full as powerful, except that " it could not be equally unjuſt. Liberty loſt no- " thing but the ills which it might occaſion, not any " thing of the happineſs it could produce."

[y] Upon his firſt entrance on his ſovereign authority, he had the pleaſure of ſeeing the temple of Janus ſhut, which was never done, but when war had ceaſed throughout the empire. M. de Tillemont obſerves, after Euſebius, that the Son of God being upon the point of making himſelf man, to bring us from heaven the true peace with God, ourſelves, and the reſt of mankind, was pleaſed at the ſame time to give an image of that inward peace, by eſtabliſhing an outward and viſible peace upon earth. This peace and union of a great number of provinces in one and the ſame monarchy, was agreeable to the deſigns of God, by the facility it gave the preachers of the goſpel to paſs from province to province, and univerſally diffuſe the light of the faith; and the people not being engaged by the troubles and tumult of wars, gave a willing ear to what they preached, and embraced the faith with joy, when God had opened their hearts by his grace.

[y] M. Tillem. vie d'Aug.

BEWARE of a too ſanguine dependence upon future expectations; the moſt promiſing hopes are ſometimes daſhed to pieces by the intervention of ſome unforeſeen and unexpected accident.

'Tis

'Tis thus that God, the ſole arbiter of all human events, determines, as lord of all, the fate of empires, preſcribes the form of them, regulates their limits, marks out their duration, and makes the very paſſions and crimes of men ſubſervient to the execution of his gracious and juſt deſigns in favour of mankind; and by the ſecret ſprings of his admirable wiſdom, diſpoſes at a diſtance, and without man's being ſenſible of it, the preparations for the great work to which all the reſt relates, which is the eſtabliſhment of his church and ſalvation of his elect.

# PART the FOURTH.

## *Of Fable and Antiquities.*

IT remains that I ſpeak in this fourth part of fable and antiquities, and this I ſhall do in very few words.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of Fable.*

THERE is no ſubject in literature, either of greater uſe than what I now ſpeak of, or more ſuſceptible of profound erudition, or more perplexed with doubts and difficulties. My deſign is not to penetrate into theſe obſcurities, or to reſolve them, but only to exhort youth not to neglect a ſtudy which may be of great advantage to them. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to two reflections, which yet I ſhall but

lightly touch upon. One relates to the origin of fable, and the other to its utility.

## ARTICLE the FIRST.

### *Of the Origin of Fable.*

FABLE, which is a medley compoſed of real facts and ornamental falſhoods, took its riſe from truth, that is from hiſtory, as well ſacred as profane; the ſeveral events of which have been altered in different manners and at different times, either by popular opinions, or poetical fictions.

I ſay, that fable took its riſe in part from ſacred hiſtory, and that its firſt and principal origin is to be found there. The family of Noah, perfectly inſtructed in religion by that holy patriarch, preſerved for ſome time the worſhip of the true God in all its purity. But when after their fruitleſs endeavours to build the tower of Babel, they were divided and diſperſed into different countries; the diverſity of language and habitation was ſoon followed by an alteration of worſhip. Truth, which till then had been conveyed by the ſole channel of tradition, ſubject to a thouſand variations, and was not yet fixed by ſcripture, the ſecure guardian of facts, truth, I ſay, was obſtructed by an infinite number of fables, and thoſe of the lateſt invention increaſed the darkneſs of ſuch as were more ancient.

The tradition of great principles and great events was preſerved amongſt all people, not without ſome mixture of fiction, but with evident and very diſcernible traces of truth; a certain proof that theſe people were all ſprung from the ſame original.

Hence aroſe the univerſal notion of one ſupreme God, almighty, the Lord and Creator of the world; and the conſequence of it, the neceſſity of an outward worſhip

worſhip by ceremonies and ſacrifices. Hence the uniform and general conſent in reſpect to certain facts; the creation of man by the hand of God himſelf; his ſtate of happineſs and innocence, implied by the golden age, when the earth without being watered by the ſweat of his brows, or cultivated by painful labour, ſupplied him with every thing in abundance; the fall of the ſame man, from whence aroſe all his misfortunes, and followed by a deluge of crimes which brought on an inundation of waters; the ſaving of the human race by an ark, which ſtopt upon a mountain; and laſtly, the propagation of mankind by a ſingle man and his three ſons.

But the detail of particular actions being leſs important, and for this reaſon leſs known, was preſently altered by fables and fictions, as we clearly ſee even in the family of Noah. As he was the father of three children, and the people that were deſcended of them diſperſed themſelves after the deluge into three differents parts of the word, this hiſtory gave occaſion to the fable of Saturn, whoſe three children, according to the poets, divided the empire of the world amongſt them.

Cham or Ham is the ſame with Ammon or Jupiter; Japhet, known under this name by the poets, was alſo worſhipped under that of Neptune, becauſe the maritime countries fell to his ſhare.

The poſterity of Shem, ſeveral of whoſe deſcendants had a better ſenſe of religion, left his name in oblivion. For which reaſon he was taken for the God of the dead and of oblivion.

It is eaſy to ſee upon what the ſcandalous hiſtory of Saturn was founded, who was injuriouſly treated by one of his ſons.

It is as eaſy to comprehend that the licentiouſneſs of the Saturnalia aroſe from an irreverent remembrance of the drunkenneſs of Saturn or Noah.

The ſevere puniſhment of the ſon, who ſaw the nakedneſs of Noah, has left among the Pagans the

memory of Saturn's indignation, who, according to [a] Callimachus, made an irrevocable law, that whoever ſhould behave with the like temerity towards the Gods, ſhould preſently be deprived of ſight.

How many particulars do we obſerve, wherein Moſes and Bacchus agree? and ſo of a great many others.

Here then we have certainly one of the ſources of fable, which is the alteration of facts and events in hiſtory.

The miniſtry of angels with reference to men, has been another. God, who had aſſociated the angels to his ſpiritual nature, to his intelligence and immortality, was pleaſed farther to aſſociate them to his providence in the government of the world, as well in relation to nature and the elements, as to the government of nations. [a] The Scripture ſpeaks to us of Angels, who preſide over the waters, the winds, the lightening, thunder and earthquakes. It points out to us others, who armed with a ſword of thunder ravage all Egypt, deſtroy a vaſt body of people in Jeruſalem by the plague, and exterminate the army of an impious Prince. [b] There is mention alſo made of an Angel who was prince and protector of the empire of the Perſians; of another, prince of the empire of the Greeks; of the Arch-Angel Michael, prince of the people of God. The external miniſtry of Angels is as ancient as the world, as we ſee from the example of the Cherubim placed at the gate of the terreſtrial Paraciſe, to guard the entrance into it.

Noah and the Patriarchs were thoroughly inſtructed in this truth, which very nearly concerned them, and they were doubtleſs very careful to teach it to their families, who by little and little loſing the purer and ſpiritual idea of an inviſible Deity, fixed their attention only upon the miniſters of his benefits and vengeance. And thus it poſſibly might happen, that

[a] Callim. hym. in Dian. ver. 123, &c. [b] Dan. c. x. v. 20, 21.
Hieron. in Dan. c. x. v. 13. c. xii. v. 1.

men

men took their notion of the Gods, which presided some over the fruits of the earth, and others over rivers; some over war, others over peace, and so of all the rest; of Gods, whose power and ministry were limited to certain countries and certain people, but were all subject to the authority of a supreme God.

Another principle of religion generally engraven in the minds of all people, also made way for the multiplicity of the Pagan divinities; and that is a constant persuasion that divine Providence presides over all human events, both great and small; and that no one, without exception, escapes its vigilance and care. 'But men astonished at the immense number of particulars, to which it was requisite the Deity should descend, thought to ease him of the trouble, by giving every God his peculiar and personal function. *Singulis rebus propria dispensantes officio numinum.*

The care of a whole country would have been too much business for a single God; the lands were committed to one, the mountains to another, the hills to a third, and the vallies to a fourth. St. Augustin reckons up a dozen different divinities, all employed about a stalk of corn; every one of which, according to his particular function, takes a peculiar care of it at different times, from the moment the seed has been thrown into the earth, till the corn arrives at maturity.

[d] Besides this multitude of inferior Gods designed for these mean functions, there are others, says St. Augustin, that are more [e] considerable, and of an higher rank, as having evidently a more noble share in the government of the world.

But, [f] adds the same father, they are these very important and renowned Gods, which fable has most dis-

[c] S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. iv. c. 8.

[d] Lib. vii. c. 2. Illam quasi plebeiam hominum multitudinem minutis opusculis destinaram.

[e] Nomina selecta dicantur . . . quia opera majora ab his administrantur in mundo.

[f] Illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit ne obrueretur opprobriis. . . . Vix selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliæ insignis acceperit. Lib. vii. cap. 4.

graced and diſparaged, by attributing to them the moſt ſhameful crimes and moſt deteſtable diſorders, murders, adulteries and inceſts. Whereas in the caſe of thoſe inferior Gods, their obſcurity and meanneſs has ſecured their honour by leaving them in oblivion. And this has beſides been a fruitful ſource of fictions, with which the corruption of man's heart has ſupplied fable, in order to palliate and excuſe the moſt frightful irregularities by the example of the Gods themſelves.

There was no ſpecies of infamy which was not authorized, and even conſecrated by the worſhip paid to certain Gods. [g] Upon the feſtival of the mother of the Gods, they ſung ſuch ſongs that the mother of a comedian would have bluſhed at; and Scipio Naſica, who was choſen by the ſenate as the fitteſt man in the republick with whom to lodge her ſtatue, would have been grieved to have had his own mother a Goddeſs at ſuch a rate, or that ſhe had held the place of Cybele.

[h] The philoſophers blamed all theſe impure ceremonies, but with fear, in faint terms, and only within the limits of their own ſchools. However religious among their diſciples, they followed the people in the temples and theatres, where theſe abominations took place; and [i] Seneca, in a work which we have loſt, where he rails with great force at theſe ſacrilegious ſuperſtitions, declares notwithſtanding, that a wiſe man will externally conform to them in compliance to the law of the ſtate, though he knows well that ſuch a worſhip can never pleaſe the Gods, but muſt only provoke them. *Quæ omnia ſapiens ſervabit tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam Diis grata.*

I do not here propoſe to point out all the ſources from whence fable has taken its riſe, but only to ſhew ſome of the moſt common; and in this number we may place the ſenſe of admiration or gratitude, which inclined men to annex the idea of divinity to whatever

[g] Lib. ii. c. 4. 5.

[h] Ipſi non libere quæ vulgo, ſolerter ut eorum [illegible] diſputationis-

but meditando, talia ſe impreſſe teſtari ſunt. Lib. vi. cap. 1.

[i] Lib. vi. cap. 20.

made

made an impreſſion on their imagination, nearly affected them, or ſeemed to procure them any advantage, ſuch as the ſun, moon, or ſtars; the fathers with regard to their children, and children with reſpect to their fathers; the perſons who had either invented or carried any uſeful arts to perfection; the heroes who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war by extraordinary valour, or purged the land of robbers and diſturbers of the publick tranquillity; and laſtly, all thoſe, who by any virtue or glorious action ſeemed ſuperior to the generality of mankind. And it is very viſible without my obſerving it, that profane as well as ſacred hiſtory, has given occaſion to all thoſe Demi-Gods and heroes, which fable has placed in heaven, by joining frequently under one and the ſame head and name, ſuch actions as were very diſtinct both as to time, place and perſons.

## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *Of the uſefulneſs of Fable.*

WHAT I have already obſerved concerning the origin of fables, which owe their birth to fiction, error and falſhood, to the alteration of hiſtorical facts, and the corruption of man's heart, may give reaſon to aſk, whether it is proper to inſtruct Chriſtian children in all the fooliſh inventions, abſurd and idle dreams, with which Paganiſm has filled the books of antiquity.

This ſtudy, when applied to with all the precaution, and wiſdom, which religion demands and inſpires, may be very uſeful to youth.

Firſt it teaches them what they owe to Jeſus Chriſt, their Redeemer, who has delivered them from the power of darkneſs, to bring them into the admirable light of the Goſpel. Before him, what were even the

wiſeſt and beſt of men, thoſe celebrated philoſoph
thoſe great politicians, thoſe famous legiſlator
Greece, thoſe grave ſenators of Rome, in a w
all the beſt governed and wiſeſt nations of the wo
Fable informs us, they were blind worſhippers of
devil, who bent their knees before gold, ſilver
marble; who offered incenſe to ſtatues, that
deaf and dumb; who acknowledged, as Gods,
mals, reptiles and plants; who were not aſhame
adore an adulterous Mars, a proſtituted Venus,
an inceſtuous Juno, a Jupiter polluted with all n
ner of crimes, and for that reaſon moſt worth
the firſt place among the Gods.

What great impurities, what monſtrous abom
tions, were admitted into their ceremonies, their ſe
nities and myſteries? The temples of their Gods
ſchools of licentiouſneſs, their pictures invitation
ſin, their groves places of proſtitution, their ſacri
a frightful mixture of ſuperſtition and cruelty.

In this condition were all mankind, except
people of the Jews, for near four thouſand years
this ſtate were our fathers, and we ſhould have
wiſe been, if the light of the Goſpel had not diſp
our darkneſs. Every ſtory in fabulous hiſtory,
circumſtance of the lives of the Gods, ſhould fill
once with confuſion, admiration and gratitude,
ſeem to cry out to us aloud in the words of St.
to the *Epheſians*: [k] *Remember*, and forget it not
*being ſprung from Gentiles, ye were ſtrangers fro
covenants of promiſe, having no hope, and withou
in the world.*

A ſecond advantage of fable is, that in diſcoveri
us the abſurd ceremonies and impious maxims o
ganiſm, it ought to inſpire us with new reſpect fo
auguſt majeſty of the Chriſtian religion, and the
tity of its morals. We learn from eccleſiaſtica
[illegible]

ill diſpoſitions to idolatry out of the minds of the
l, brought to light and publickly expoſed all that
und in the inſide of a temple he had cauſed to be
ſhed; the bones of men, the members of chil-
icrificed to devils, and ſeveral other ſootſteps of
rilegious worſhip, which the Pagans paid to
Deities. The ſtudy of fable ſhould produce a
ſect in the mind of every ſenſible perſon, and
is uſe that the holy fathers and all the apolo-
Chriſtianity have made of it.

impoſſible to underſtand the books which have
ritten upon this ſubject, without having ſome
dge of fabulous hiſtory. St. Auguſtin's great
intitled, *De Civitate Dei*, which has done ſo
ionour to the church, is at the ſame time both a
f what I lay down, and a perfect model of the
how we ought to ſanctify profane ſtudies.
me may be ſaid of the other fathers, who have
pon the ſame plan from the beginning of Chriſ-
Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Arnobius,
tius, Theodoret, Euſebius of Cæſarea, and
ly St. Clement of Alexandria, whoſe Stromata
t to be underſtood by any one, that is not
n this part of ancient learning. Whereas the
dge of fable makes the underſtanding of them
ely eaſy, which we ought to look upon as
ll advantage.

alſo very uſeful (and particularly to youth, for
write) for the underſtanding both of Greek,
French and Engliſh authors, in reading of
they muſt be often at a ſtand without ſome ac-
nce with fable. I don't ſpeak only of the poets,
n we know it is a kind of natural language;
o frequently made uſe of by orators, and ſome-
y an happy application ſupplies them with very
nd eloquent turns: Such, for inſtance, amongſt
many others, is the following paſſage in Tul-
lion concerning Mithridates King of Pontus.

The orator takes notice, that this Prince, flying before the Romans, after the loſs of a battle, found means to eſcape out of the hands of his covetous conquerors, by ſcattering upon the road, from time to time, a part of his treaſures and ſpoils. In like manner, ſays he, as is told of Medea, that when ſhe was purſued by her father, in the ſame country, ſhe ſcattered the members of her brother Abſyrtus, whom ſhe had cut to pieces, along the way, that his care in gathering up the diſperſed members, and his grief at the ſight of ſo ſad a ſpectacle, might retard his purſuit. The reſemblance is exact, except that, as Tully remarks, Æeta the father of Medea was ſtopped in his courſe by ſorrow, and the Romans by joy.

There are different ſpecies of books expoſed to the view of the whole world, ſuch as pictures, prints, tapeſtry and ſtatues. Theſe are ſo many riddles to thoſe who are ignorant of fabulous hiſtory, from whence their explication is frequently to be taken. Theſe matters are likewiſe frequently brought into diſcourſe, and it is not, in my opinion, over agreeable to ſit mute and ſeem ſtupid in company for want of being inſtructed, whilſt young, in a matter ſo eaſy to be learnt.

All theſe reaſons have ever made me wiſh that ſomebody would be at the pains to draw up an hiſtory of the fabulous times, which might be put into the hands of all the world, and be expreſly calculated for the uſe of youth. F. Galtruchius's work is ſomewhat of this kind, but it is too ſhort; as is alſo F. Jouvency's treatiſe, entitled, *Appendix de Diis*, which otherwiſe is excellent. M. l'Abbe Bannier's performance, in three volumes, contains moſt of what is wanting upon this ſubject, the ſubſtance of it being taken from hiſtory itſelf, which is the beſt ſyſtem in this kind, and explains the different ſources of it with great ſolidity and erudition. But this work is too learned and too large for boys, as that alſo of F. Tournemine

m Pro lege Manil. n. 22.

would

would be; of which he has given us ſuch a plan, as makes us wiſh the work was finiſhed. There has been lately publiſhed a book, entitled, *Dictionary de la Fable.* It may be very uſeful in clearing up any difficulties relating to fable, which may occur in reading, but it is not a continued hiſtory.

One ſingle volume of a reaſonable length, might be made to contain the moſt conſiderable and remarkable facts, and ſuch as would contribute moſt to the underſtanding of authors. I ſhould think it would be adviſeable to omit what barely relates to learning, as it would render the ſtudy of fable more difficult and leſs agreeable, or at leaſt to throw all reflections of this kind into ſhort notes; but it would be abſolutely requiſite to throw out every thing that might be prejudicial to purity of manners, and not only to leave out any ſtory, but even any expreſſion that might give the leaſt offence to any chaſte or Chriſtian ears. I have engaged a perſon, who has a great deal of knowledge, judgment and piety, to undertake this ſmall performance, which cannot but be very uſeful to all young perſons of both ſexes; and I hope in a little time it will be in a condition to be publiſhed.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of Antiquities.*

BESIDES the events contained in hiſtory, and the reflections which are the natural conſequence of them, this ſtudy contains ſtill another part, which, though leſs neceſſary and agreeable indeed, may yet be very uſeful, if made with judgment and diſcretion; I mean the knowledge of uſages, cuſtoms, and whatever elſe is underſtood by the name of antiquities. The readers of hiſtory are in ſome reſpect like travellers. There

There is generally ſome end propoſed, either of g into their own country, or to ſome other place, ther their buſineſs or their intereſts leads them; a is this end, this motive, which puts them in act and ſets them a going. Notwithſtanding, if have leiſure and curioſity, they take care by the to examine whatever they meet worth notice, inſert it in the journals and memoirs they dra for their own private uſe. Thus alſo we ſhould in ſtudying hiſtory; beſides the ſeries of facts events, and the wiſe reflections ariſing from th we ſhould carefully collect whatever relates to ges, cuſtoms, laws, arts, and a thouſand other rious branches of knowledge, which ſerve as o ments to the mind, and likewiſe contribute very m to the perfect underſtanding of what we read.

### *The uſefulneſs of the ſtudy of Antiquities.*

This ſtudy, to a certain degree, is abſolutely ceſſary to all matters. There are in all authors a g many expreſſions, alluſions, and compariſons, w cannot be underſtood without it; and it is ſcarce ſible without it to make one ſingle ſtep in the rea of hiſtory, and not be puzzled with difficulties, w a very ſlight knowledge of antiquity would frequ reſolve. Let any one lightly run over the firſt l of Livy, which, with the origin of the Roman ple, contains moſt of the greateſt part of their laws cuſtoms, and he will ſoon be ſenſible of the u and advantage of the ſtudy I am now recommend

I know that this ſtudy, like all others, if ca too far, has its rocks and dangers. There is a

know. [a] Seneca, in more than one place, complains of this bad taſte, which taking riſe amongſt the Greeks, transferred itſelf to the Romans, and began to ſeize upon the nation. [o] He obſerves, that there is, in point of ſtudy, as in every thing elſe, a vicious exceſs and intemperance; that it is no leſs blameable to collect at a vaſt expence, an heap of uſeleſs knowledge, than of ſuperfluous furniture; that this ſort of learning is calculated only to make men impertinent, fooliſhly poſſeſſed with a notion of their own merit, and at the bottom really ignorant. Speaking of Didymus, the famous grammarian, who had written four thouſand volumes, wherein he examined abundance of uſeleſs queſtions, not worth remembering; I ſhould have thought a man wretched enough, ſays Seneca, if he had been condemned, I ſay, not to write, but only to read ſuch a heap of trifles. *Quatuor millia librorum Didymus grammaticus ſcripſit; miſer, ſi tam multa ſupervacua legiſſet.*

[p] Juvenal alſo juſtly derides the bad taſte of ſome perſons in his time, who were not ſatisfied unleſs a

[a] Ecce Romanos quoque invaſit inane ſtudium ſupervacua diſcendi. Lib. de brev. vit. cap. xiv.

[o] Plus ſcire velle, quam ſit ſatis, intemperantiæ genus eſt..... An tu exiſtimas reprehendendum, qui ſupervacua uſu ſibi comparata, & pretioſarum rerum pompam in domo explicat? non putas eum, qui occupatus eſt in ſupervacuâ literarum ſupellectile? quid quòd iſta liberalium artium conſectatio moleſtos, verboſos, intempeſtivos, ſibi placentes facit, & ideò non diſcenda neceſſaria, quia ſupervacua didicerunt. Epiſt. 88.

[p] Sed vos ſævas imponite leges,
Ut præceptori verborum regula conſtet;
Ut legat hiſtorias; auctores noverit omnes
Tanquam ungues digitoſque ſuos, ut fortè rogatus
Dum petit aut thermas, aut Pœbi balnea; dicat
Nutricem Anchiſæ, nomen patriamque novercæ
Anchemoli; dicat, quot Aceſtes vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverat urnas. Juv. lib. iii. Sat. 7.

——— hard laws upon the maſter lay.
He ſure he knows exactly grammar rules,
And all the beſt hiſtorians read in ſchools;
All authors, ev'ry poet to an hair;
That, aſked the queſtion, he may ſcarce deſpair
To tell who nurs'd Anchiſes, or to name
Anchemolus's ſtep-mother, and whence ſhe came;
How long Aceſtes liv'd, what ſtores of wine
He gave to the departing Trojan line.

pre-

preceptor directly could give an answer to a the absurd and ridiculous questions. It is, in short, little acquainted with the value of time, and to one's pains and labour to very bad purpose, to e them in the study of such difficulties and obscu as are at the same time, according to [q] Tully's vation, unnecessary, and often trifling and vair

*Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,*
*Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.* MAR

A judicious master will carefully avoid fallin this mistake. In applying himself to history and quities, he will not carry his enquiries too far, l guided in this point by prudence and discretion. will remember what [r] Quintilian says, that fooliſh and pitiful vanity to be over curious in k ing all that the worst authors have said upon ject; that such an occupation very idly wast time and pains which ought to be better empl and that among the virtues and perfections of a master, it is none of the least to be ignorant in particulars. *Ex quo mihi inter virtutes gram habebitur, aliqua nescire.*

There is an art of making these dry and ordi tedious matters, very agreeable, by intermixing with short stories and reflections; by removing them most of the thorns and difficulties, and le only the flower, in a manner, for the boys to g by exalting their taste, and awakening their cu with such particular circumstances as are lik make an impression; in a word, by making fond of this kind of exercise, and expect it sort of impatience.

With these precautions we cannot too much r mend the study of antiquities, either to schol

[q] Alterum est vitium, quòd quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt, eas non necessarias. Offic. lib.

[r] Quintil. lib. 1. cap. vii

m

maſters. The latter eſpecially ſhould look upon it as an eſſential branch of their duty. It is a part of learning not only ſuitable to their character, but abſolutely neceſſary for all ſuch perſons as are deſigned by their ſtation to ſtudy and teach the *belles lettres*. The univerſity has, in all ages, been diſtinguiſhed by this particular, as well as in every other reſpect. She has conſtantly ſent abroad all ſorts of learned men, who have done honour to literature and the nation, by the valuable works they have publiſhed. Turnebus, Muretus, Buchanan, Scaliger, Caſaubon, and the many others, who have taught or ſtudied in the univerſity of Paris.

It is incumbent on us to ſupport their glory, and to look upon their reputation as a rich inheritance, which we ought to tranſmit to our ſucceſſors in all its value, and not ſuffer it to be ſpent or laviſhed by our illeneſs and indolence. We ſee ſeveral of our brethren in the univerſity diſtinguiſh themſelves in different kinds of literature, according to their particular taſte and inclination, either by compoſitions in proſe, or in Greek or Latin verſes; or by a diligent ſtudy of rhetorick and the old rhetoricians; of the art of poetry, and the writers who had treated it; of grammar in general, and all its parts; by an exact knowledge of the ancient authors of the Greek and Roman hiſtory, and of the antiquities of both nations. We are allowed a noble emulation in this point, and we ſhould all of us ſtrive to equal, and, if poſſible, even to excel thoſe who have gone before us.

It is not only the glory of the univerſity which is herein concerned, but the honour of the nation ought ſenſibly to affect us. Some neighbouring countries ſeem inclined to deprive us of the glory of learning, by their extraordinary application to the ſciences, and by the great and learned works with which they enrich the publick. They cannot deny the French their excellency in eloquence and poetry, in the ſtudy of polite learning, in the beauty and

and delicacy of compoſition; the age of Lewis XIV. having been to us, what the age of Auguſtus was formerly to the Romans, that is, the rule and model of good taſte in every kind. In preſerving this glorious part of our ancient inheritance with care and jealouſy, we muſt not neglect another which ought alſo to be very valuable to us, and it is the perfection of our condition to join both together, a good taſte in the *belles lettres* with that of erudition.

Theſe two parts, though very different, are not incompatible, and ſhould be ready to lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance; in ſhort, erudition makes a quite different figure, when ſupported by elegant and beautiful compoſition; ſuch as we ſee in the works of Muretus, Manutius, and a great many other illuſtrious learned men, who have done ſuch honour to literature; and on the other ſide, the delicacy of compoſition receives very conſiderable improvements from the ſolidity and multiplicity of thoughts and materials ſupplied by erudition.

I know not whether I am blinded by a love to my country, and prejudiced for a body of which I have the honour to be a member, but, in my opinion, the two characters I have juſt mentioned, are happily united in moſt of the memoirs which the royal academy of *inſcriptions* and *belles lettres* have publiſhed. We find there a conſiderable part of antiquities explained with great clearneſs and eloquence. I have made great uſe of them in the little I relate here. The twofold title this academy bears of *inſcriptions* and *belles lettres*, ſufficiently ſhews that their deſign is to unite the polite parts of literature with the depths of erudition. Not to mention ſeveral other learned members of this body, ſuch as were M. L'Abbe Fraguier, and M. L'Abbe Mallien, they have lately loſt an excellent perſon, who had both theſe qualities in an eminent degree, I mean the younger M. Boivin, the royal profeſſor in the Greek tongue, keeper of the King's library, and one of the forty in the French academy.

academy. He had a vaſt fund of erudition, and I queſtion whether any man in all Europe was more thoroughly maſter of the Greek tongue than he; and yet at the ſame time he compoſed in three languages, Greek, Latin, and French, either in proſe or verſe, in a manner extremely elegant. Several of the moſt able profeſſors in the univerſity never failed to lay their compoſitions before him, and always found an advantage from his criticiſm, which was equally modeſt and judicious. For my own part, though he was much younger than me, I always looked upon him as my maſter in matters of polite learning, eſpecially where the Greek was concerned, and I ſtand indebted to him for a great part of the little I know.

'Tis this erudition which young maſters ſhould aim at, who are ſeriouſly inclined to follow their own ſtudies, and direct thoſe of others. Nor ſhould they be frightened with the length and difficulty of the labour; for by ſetting apart a certain portion of their time every day for the reading of ancient authors, they will by little and little make ſo rich a collection in this kind, as themſelves will afterwards be aſtoniſhed at; let them but begin, make the beſt uſe of their time, and take down their remarks with order and perſpicuity. But a man muſt have already ſome tincture of erudition, before he can know what it is proper for him to obſerve as he reads. Thus to confine myſelf to the preſent point, it were to be wiſhed that a maſter before he engages in the ſtudy of the ancient hiſtorians, would at leaſt run over what Roſinus has written upon the Roman antiquities. This is not a work of much labour, and may notwithſtanding be of great advantage to young maſters in the peruſal of authors, by making them attentive to ſeveral things which otherwiſe might eſcape them. We have a ſmall Latin treatiſe, by F. Cantel the jeſuit, entitled, *De Romanâ Republicâ*, which is very proper for young beginners. There is alſo one in French, but very conciſe, called, *Abregé des Antiquités Romaines*, which may

may be put into the hands of boys, till a better is expreſly drawn up for their uſe; and I hope ſome ſkilful maſter will take upon himſelf this little work. A good part of what relates to antiquities may be reduced to ſeven or eight heads, viz. religion, politicks, war, navigation, publick monuments and buildings, games, battles, ſpectacles, arts and ſciences, and the uſages of common life, ſuch as meals, habits, money, *&c.*

Every one of theſe parts contains a great many others. For inſtance, under the title of religion are comprehended the Gods, the prieſts, the temples, the veſſels, and other inſtruments employed in ſeveral acts of religion, the ſacrifices, feaſts, vows and oblations, oracles and predictions; and under the title of political government, the comitia or aſſemblies, the different offices of magiſtracy, the laws and judgments, and ſo of all the reſt.

There are a abundance of curious points, and ſuch as certainly deſerve to be taken notice of, which a maſter that has ſome knowledge in this ſtudy may obſerve to his ſcholars, as occaſion offers, and which in time will ſupply them with an abundance of uſeful and agreeable points of knowledge, at no great expence of pains. A few examples will explain my meaning, and ſhew how ſerviceable the ſtudy of antiquities may be towards exciting the curioſity of youth, and inſpiring them with a taſte for learning, or even to inſtil into them the uſeful principles of morality and religion. I ſhall here confine myſelf to one ſingle article relating to arts, and ſhall treat only of a very ſmall part of them.

*Facts and reflections relating to the invention of art.*

It is of great moment, as we read, to obſerve carefully the origin of arts and ſciences, their different progreſs, their declenſion and fall; the rare and curious facts which occur upon this ſubject; the illuſ-

trious

ous men who have excelled in them; the Princes, ho have made the ſtudy of them flouriſh, by giving otection and encouragement to ſuch perſons as have ſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſkill in any art; nor uſt we omit the diſcoveries, which have eſcaped the nquiries of the ancients, and been reſerved for later ges. I ſhall here ſpeak only to the two laſt articles, nd content myſelf with pointing out ſome few examples, to which I ſhall add ſomething upon meaures and coins.

## I. *Diſcoveries unknown to the ancients.*

In the deſcriptions of battles, with which authors abound, youth often find the cavalry mentioned, but ſeldom obſerve one thing, which is very ſurprizing in itſelf, and ſcarce comprehenſible; which is, that anciently the horſemen never made uſe of ſtirrups. They muſt either, when grown heavy with age, have been put upon their horſes by their grooms, if they had any; or have taken the advantage of a higher ground, or of ſome ſtone, or a trunk of a tree. [a]Plutarch obſerves, that Gracchus placed ſtones at certain diſtances upon the great roads, to aſſiſt horſemen in mounting on horſeback.

We are with reaſon ſurprized, that the ancients never made uſe of glaſs for their windows. Glaſs however was in uſe amongſt them; without mentioning the looking-glaſſes and large panes, which were the ornaments of their chambers, they made vaſes, cups, and goblets of glaſs, which perfectly imitated cryſtal, and were none of the leaſt ornaments of their buffets. What could be more eaſy than to glaze their windows with it, and yet this was what the ancients never did.

They likewiſe never uſed any linen for their ſhirts, which however is ſo neat and wholeſome; and this was one of the reaſons which made bathing ſo abſolutely neceſſary amongſt them.

[a] In vit. Gracch.

It is alſo proper to obſerve to pupils, that ſeveral of the moſt neceſſary inventions of life, ſuch as water-mills, windmills, ſpectacles, the compaſs, printing, and a great many others of the like nature, were unknown to the ancients; and that we owe the greateſt part of theſe rare and valuable inventions to the barbarous ages, in which that ſtupidity and ignorance ſtill prevailed, which the eruption of the northern people, enemies and deſtroyers of all the works of art, had ſpread over all Europe. How many diſcoveries have been made in aſtronomy by means of the teleſcope? how great a change has the compaſs made in navigation?

It is highly proper upon this occaſion to obſerve, that the invention of arts ought not to be attributed to human induſtry alone, but to a peculiar providence, which uſually concealing itſelf under ſuch circumſtances, as ſeem to be the effect of chance, conducts mankind by degrees to wonderful diſcoveries, in order to procure for them, at appointed ſeaſons, the neceſſities and conveniencies of life. This is a truth confeſſed by the Heathen themſelves; and Tully running over what was moſt uſeful and valuable in nature, owns that all this would have remained in oblivion, and buried in the bowels of the earth, if God had not diſcloſed the knowledge and uſe of it to man.

To confirm this reflection, and render the truth more evident, it may be proper to explain at large to youth the particular circumſtances of the compaſs, and ſuch an account cannot but be very pleaſing to them. The compaſs then, they may be told, is a ſmall box, in which there is incloſed a needle, that has been touched by a loadſtone, and ſo ſupported that it may eaſily be turned every way. This needle, by virtue of the loadſtone, which has touched it, always conſtantly directs itſelf ſo as to fix very near upon the meridian line, turning one of its extremities towards the north, and the other towards the ſouth, and by this means

[t] Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 116.

diſcovers

diſcovers to the pilot the courſe he ſteers. The ancients, before the invention of the compaſs, could not ſail very far in the open ſea, as they had no other guidance than the ſun and ſtars; and when this aſſiſtance failed them they went on by chance, and knew not what courſe the veſſel took; for which reaſon they never removed very far from the coaſts, nor ventured to undertake any long voyages. The compaſs has removed theſe difficulties, as it conſtantly ſhews where the north and ſouth lie, let the weather be what it will, by day or night, and by a neceſſary conſequence ſhews which is the eaſt and which is the weſt, and certainly points out the courſe the veſſel is to take.

The diſcovery of the new world, and conſequently the ſalvation of abundance of ſouls, depended upon the invention of the compaſs; and 'tis ſurprizing it ſhould have lain ſo long concealed. For it has been known in Europe but about three hundred years. The ancients were perfectly acquainted with one of the two ſpecifick virtues of the loadſtone, to wit, that of attacting and ſupporting iron; how came they not to diſcover the other, of turning and fixing itſelf always towards the north and ſouth, which now appears to us ſo eaſy and natural a diſcovery? Who does not clearly ſee, that God, who makes men attentive to the effects of nature, or heedleſs of them, according to his own deſigns and good pleaſure, had reſerved this important diſcovery in his eternal decrees, for the ſeaſon in which he was pleaſed that the Goſpel ſhould be tranſported into thoſe countries, which till then were inacceſſible to our ſhips, as they were ſeparated from us by immenſe tracts of ſea, which could not be croſſed over, as God had not yet taken away the obſtacle to our entrance into them?

In ſpeaking of the veſſels of the ancients to the pupils, it will be proper to inform them, that the learned differ much about the manner in which the ranks of oars were diſpoſed. There are ſome, ſays F. de Montfauçon, who will have them placed longways, almoſt

almoſt in the ſame manner as the ranks of oars are now placed in galleys; others, and amongſt this number himſelf, are of opinion that the ranks of the biremes, the triremes, the quinqueremes, or pentiremes, and the reſt, which have been multiplied to the number of forty in certain veſſels, were ſet one above another; not perpendicularly, for this would be impoſſible, but obliquely, and as it were by ſteps; and this they prove by abundance of paſſages from ancient authors. But what is ſtill more deciſive in favour of this opinion, the ancient monuments, and eſpecially the column of Trajan, repreſent theſe ranks one above another; yet, adds F. Montfauçon, the beſt of our ſeamen all ſay, that this is impoſſible. All thoſe, ſays he, with whom I have diſcourſed upon this ſubject, ſome of which are perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and of abilities known to the whole world, agree in the ſame opinion.

Without any great ſkill in matters relating to the ſea, it is eaſily conceived, that there muſt have been an almoſt inſuperable difficulty in the working of veſſels of extraordinary bigneſs, ſuch as were thoſe of [u] Ptolemy Philopater King of Egypt, and Hiero King of Syracuſe. The veſſels of Hiero, built by the direction of Archimedes, had one of them twenty ranks of oars, and the other forty. This laſt was two hundred and eighty cubits long, thirty eight broad, and about fifty cubits high. The oars of thoſe who held the higheſt rank, were thirty eight cubits long. It appears by the column of Trajan, that in the biremes and triremes, there was only one rower to every oar. It is not eaſy to decide for the reſt. Thus [w] Plutarch obſerves, that the veſſel of Ptolemy, which was more like an immoveable building than a ſhip, was only for pomp and ſhow, and not for uſe. Livy ſays almoſt the ſame thing of the ſhip of Philip King of Macedon, which had ſixteen ranks of oars. [x] *Juſſus*

[u] A deſcription of them may be ſeen in Athenæus, lib. v.

[w] In vit. Demetr.

[x] Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 30.

*Philippus*

*Philippus naves omnes tectas tradere, quin & regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam ſexdecim verſus remorum agebant.* Vegetius reckons only among ſhips of a reaſonable bigneſs, and fit for war, the quinqueremes and thoſe of leſs rank; and there is ſcarce mention made of any others amongſt authors. It ſeems farther evident, that from the time of Auguſtus they ſcarce ever made uſe of veſſels with more ranks of oars, than the triremes and the biremes.

But to paſs a right judgment upon the working of theſe veſſels of ſuch extraordinary bigneſs, a man muſt have ſeen them with his own eyes. [y] We read of the ſhips of Demetrius King of Syria, which had ſixteen ranks of oars. Before his time there had never been ſeen any thing like them. Their agility, ſays Plutarch, their ſpeed, and their eaſineſs in tacking about, was ſtill more admirable than their enormous bulk. All this was the invention of that Prince, who had a wonderful genius for arts, and found out abundance of things unknown to the architects. Theſe ſhips were the admiration of mankind in his age, who could not have believed this had been poſſible, if they had not ſeen it.

I have made theſe remarks, to ſhew how important it is, in reading the Greek and Latin authors, to be very careful to obſerve exactly whatever relates to the building of veſſels, their forms and different kinds, and to the different alterations that have happened in ſea affairs, with reference to navigation, in the deſcriptions they give us of fleets and engagments at ſea.

I muſt however advertiſe youth in general, that there are certain wonderful facts related by the ancients, of which they would do well to ſuſpend their belief a while, till they have been more carefully examined. [z] Pliny ſays, that in the time of Tiberius, they had found out the ſecret of making glaſs malleable, but this invention was entirely ſtifled for fear it ſhould

[y] Plut. in vit. Demet. Diod. &c. lib. xx. [z] Lib. xxxvi. cap. 6.

leſſen the price and value of gold, ſilver and all ſorts of metals. [a] Dion tells us of a workman, who deſignedly letting a glaſs veſſel which he offered to Tiberius fall to the ground, preſently gathered up the pieces, and after he had handled them a little, ſhewed the veſſel whole and without a fracture. Other authors after Pliny have related the ſame fact, and yet the learned declare, that this pretended malleability of glaſs is a mere chimera, abſolutely rejected by ſound phyſicks. And Pliny himſelf owns, that what was ſaid of it was grounded more on report, than any certain foundation.

I queſtion whether more credit is due to what the ſame [b] Pliny relates of a ſmall fiſh, called by the Greeks *Echeneis*, and by the Latins *Remora*, which faſtening itſelf in the rudder of the galley, that carried the Emperor Caligula, ſtopt its courſe in ſuch manner, that four hundred rowers were unable to move it one way or other.

## II. *Honours paid to learned men.*

There are many things proper to be obſerved in antient hiſtory, concerning the honours paid to ſuch as have been inventors of arts, or have carried them to perfection, or in general to the learned of the firſt rank, who have been diſtinguiſhed in a particular manner. But my deſign does not admit me to dwell long upon this ſubject, affecting as it is to us.

[c] One cannot read the letter, which Philip King of Macedon wrote to Ariſtotle, without admiring to find, that it was a greater ſatisfaction to this Prince to have the firſt philoſopher of his age, and the moſt learned man the world ever produced, for a tutor to his ſon, than it was to have been his father.

The ſingular value that Alexander the great had for the poems of Homer, and the reſpect he paid to the

[a] Lib. lvii. p. 617.
[b] Lib. xxxii. cap. 1.
[c] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

memory

memory of Pindar, when ſtorming the city of Thebes, have gained him no leſs reputation than all his conquests; and we almoſt as much admire him, when diſmiſſing the pomp of royalty, he chuſes to diſcourſe familiarly with the famous painters and ſculptors of his time, as when marching at the head of his army, he ſpreads an univerſal terror.

The glorious protection which Mecænas gave men of letters, employing all the intereſt he had with his Prince in doing them ſervice, has rendered his name immortal, and acquired the age of Auguſtus the glory of being always regarded as the golden age of literature, and the rule of good taſte in every kind of learning.

'When we read that the King of Spain and Cardinal Ximenes, going one day to a publick act, which was held in the new univerſity of Alcali, inſiſted upon the rector's walking between them, (a prerogative which that univerſity has ever ſince preſerved,) 'tis plain that this publick homage was not paid to the perſon of the rector, but that a great King and a great miniſter intended by this means to inſpire a taſte for learning and the ſciences, which always return the glory with uſury which they receive from Princes.

The ſingular privileges which our Kings formerly granted to the univerſity of Paris, the mother and model of all others, aroſe from the ſame principle; and the reputation which it has acquired to itſelf and the kingdom, throughout the whole Chriſtian world, ſhews that the Kings who have been our founders have not been miſtaken in their views, and that all their expectations have been more than fulfilled; and thus it will be in all ages. Arts and ſciences will always flouriſh in the ſtates where they are honoured; and in return they will reflect infinite honour upon the States and Princes, who give them encouragement.

I cannot here avoid inſerting a fact which lately happened, and almoſt within our own view; a fact which deſerves to be celebrated in all languages, and inſcribed

[a] Hiſt. de Ximen. par M. Fléchier, liv. vi.

in ſhining characters in all records of literature. 'Tis what paſſed in England at the interment of the famous Sir Iſaac Newton, the Archimedes of our age, both for the ſublimity of his reaſonings in theory, and the force of his induſtrious and inventive genius in practice. I ſhall only tranſcribe what is ſaid upon this ſubject, in the beautiful panegyrick made upon him by M. de Fontenelle, with his uſual eloquence, at the opening of the academy of ſciences in the year 1727.

"His body was expoſed upon a bed of ſtate in the "Jeruſalem chamber, a place from whence perſons "of the higheſt rank, and ſometimes crowned heads, "are carried to their graves. He was conveyed thence "into Weſtminſter-Abbey, the pall being ſupported "by my Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montroſe "and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Suſſex, "and Macclesfield. Theſe ſix Engliſh peers, who "diſcharged this ſolemn office, give room to judge, "what a number of perſons of diſtinction muſt have "made up the funeral pomp. The Biſhop of Roche-"ſter read the ſervice, attended by the whole clergy of "the church. The body was interred near the en-"trance into the choir. We muſt go back to the an-"cient Greeks, if we would find examples of a like "veneration paid to learning. Sir Iſaac Newton's "family copies ſtill nearer the example of Greece, by "a monument they are about to erect for him, "which will coſt a conſiderable ſum. The Dean and "Chapter of Weſtminſter have allowed it to be raiſed "in a part of the Abbey, which has often been re-"fuſed to noblemen of the firſt rank. No country "or family, though he had choſen them, could have "expreſſed more gratitude to his memory."

I have no need to aſk pardon for this digreſſion. Whoever has the leaſt regard for the publick good and the honour of learning, cannot but be very much affected with this kind of ſolemn homage, which the nobility of a powerful kingdom, as it were in the name of the whole nation, pays to learning and merit.

III. *Of*

## III. *Of the Meaſures of time and place, and of ancient coins.*

I add this article, not with a deſign to enter into the diſcuſſion of theſe points, which are generally very difficult, but to give youth a ſlight knowledge of them, and to lay before them a table of the different ſums, which often occur in authors, and which of themſelves do not preſent to the mind any clear idea of their value. The elder [e] Pliny ſays, that Roſcius, the moſt famous actor of his time, gained five hundred thouſand ſeſtertia a year. *Apud majores Roſcius Hiſtrio* H. S. *quingenta annua meritaſſe proditur.* We read in [f] Paterculus, that Paulus Æmilius brought two hundred millions of ſeſtertia into the publick treaſury, *Bis millies centies H. S. ærario, contulit.* Youth do not expreſsly know the value of theſe ſums. The table informs them, at one caſt of their eye, that the firſt ſum amounts to ſix hundred and twenty-five thouſand livres, and the ſecond to twenty-five millions of our money.

### I. *Meaſures of time.*

The Greeks reckoned by olympiads, every one of which contains the ſpace of four whole years. Theſe olympiads took their name from the Olympick games, which were celebrated in Peloponneſus, near the city of Piſa, otherwiſe called Olympia. The firſt olympiad, in which Chorœbus carried the prize, began, according to Uſher, in the ſummer of the year of the world 3228.

According to the ſame Uſher, Rome was built a little before the beginning of the eighth olympiad, in the year of the world 3256, at the time that the great empire of the Aſſyrians was deſtroyed by the death of their laſt King Sardanapalus, when Joatham reigned at

[e] Lib. vii. cap. 39. [f] Lib. i. cap. 9.

Jeruſalem, and conſequently in the days of Iſaiah. From the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium, are reckoned ſeven hundred and twenty-three years.

## II. *Meaſures of roads.*

A point is the ſmalleſt part that can be deſcribed.

Two points make a line.

Twelve lines makes an inch.

Twelve inches make a foot.

Two feet and a half make the common pace.

Two common paces, or five feet, make the geometrical pace.

This being ſuppoſed, the moſt noted itinerary meaſure ſtands thus.

The *ſtadium* was peculiar to the Greeks, and conſiſted of a hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces; and conſequently twenty of them muſt go to a common French league, which conſiſts of two thouſand five hundred paces.

The *mile*, among the Romans, conſiſts of eight *ſtadia*, or a thouſand geometrical paces; ſomewhat leſs than half a league.

The *league* of the ancient Gauls is one thouſand five hundred paces.

The *paraſanga* of the Perſians is ordinarily thirty *ſtadia*, that is a league and an half. Some of them from twenty to ſixty *ſtadia*.

The moſt common *ſchœnos* of the Egyptians is forty *ſtadia*, or two leagues. There are of them from twenty to a hundred and twenty *ſtadia*.

The common *league* of France is two thouſand five hundred paces. The ſmall one two thouſand paces, and the great one three thouſand. When we mention the leagues of France, we uſually underſtand the common ones.

## III. *Of ancient coins.*

The Attick *drachma*, which answers to the Roman penny, must serve us for a rule, whereby to know the value of all the other coins. M. de Tillemont makes it amount to twelve *sols* of French money; F. Lamy to near eight, and M. Dacier to ten. I shall adhere to this last opinion, without enquiring into the reasons of these differences, only because this manner of reckoning is the most easy, and consequently most proper for young people. I here fix the French mark at seven and twenty livres, which is looked upon by most nations of Europe as the intrinsick value of the silver.

### *Greek coins.*

The Attick *obolus* is the sixth part of an Attick *drachma*.

The Attick *drachma* contains six *oboli*. It answers to the Roman penny, and is worth six French *sols*.

The Attick *mina* is equivalent to an hundred drachmas, and consequently fifty French livres.

The Attick *talent* is equivalent to sixty *minæ*, and is consequently three thousand French livres.

*Myriad* is a Greek word, which signifies ten thousand. Thus a myriad of drachmas signifies ten thousand drachmas, and is of equal value with five thousand livres.

The Attick *stater* was a golden coin that weighed two drachmas, equal in value to twenty drachmas of silver, and consequently to ten livres of France. The *darick*, a golden coin of the Persians, and that which bore the name of Philip King of Macedon. *Philippei* were of the same value with the Attick stater.

The *sicle* or *shekel*, an Hebrew coin, was equivalent to four Attick drachmas or forty *sols*.

### *Roman coins.*

The Roman *as*, called otherwiſe *libra* or *pon* was originally the tenth part of the Roman penn or *denarius*.

The *ſmall ſeſterce*, *ſuſtertius* or *nummus*, was t fourth part of the Roman penny, and equivalent two French *ſols* and an half. It was at firſt mark thus L-L-S, as being equal in value to two *aſſes*, two pounds and a half; *ſeſtertius* is for *ſemiſtertius*, three lacking a half. At length the ſcribes put an inſtead of the L-L, and marked the ſeſterce thus, H

The *denarius* or *penny*, was a ſmall piece of ſilve equal in value to ten *aſſes*, four *ſeſterces*, and conſ quently ten French *ſols*.

The *great ſeſterce*, or *ſeſtertium* in the neuter, ſi nifies a ſum of equal value with a thouſand ſmall ſe terces, two hundred and fifty Roman pence, and hundred and twenty-five French livres.

This laſt ſum was differently reckoned. *Decem ſ tertia*, ten great ſeſterces, or ten thouſand ſmall on *Centena millia* HS. *five nummûma* hundred thouſand ſm ſeſterces. By the adverb *decies ſeſtertiûm*, was here u derſtood *centies*; it was therefore a thouſand great ſe terces, or a million ſmall ones; or *decies centena*, und ſtanding *ſeſtertia*: or *decies* alone in ſhort, and und ſtanding *centies ſeſtertiûm*, or *centena ſeſtertia*.

The name of the golden coin was *aureus* or *ſo dus*, and is generally judged by authors to amou in value to twenty-five ſilver pence.

The proportion of gold to ſilver has been differe at all times. We may keep that of ten to one i our reckoning in antiquity. Thus a talent of ſil amounted to three thouſand livres, a talent of gold thirty thouſand. The proportion of gold to ſilv at preſent, is near fifteen to one.

*Roman Numbers.*

| | |
|---|---|
| I. | 1. |
| V. | 5. |
| X. | 10. |
| L. | 50. |
| C. | 100. |
| ID. | 500. |
| CIↃ. | 1000. |
| IↃↃ. | 5000. |
| CCIↃↃ. | 10000. |
| IↃↃↃ. | 50000. |
| CCCIↃↃↃ. | 100000. |

*A Table of the Value of the Greek Money.*

MYRIADS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Myriads of Attick drachmas | 5000 *liv.* |
| 2 myriads | 10.000 *liv.* |
| 3 myriads | 15.000 *liv.* |
| 4 myriads | 20.000 *liv.* |
| 5 myriads | 25.000 *liv.* |
| 10 myriads | 50.000 *liv.* |
| 20 myriads | 100.000 *liv.* |
| 50 myriads | 250.000 *liv.* |
| 100 myriads | 500.000 *liv.* |
| 200 myriads | 1.000.000 *liv.* |
| 1000 myriads | 5.000.000 *liv.* |

TALENTS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Talent | 3000 *liv.* |
| 2 talents | 6000 *liv.* |
| 5 talents | 15.000 *liv.* |
| 10 talents | 30.000 *liv.* |
| 50 talents | 150.000 *liv.* |
| 100 talents | 300.000 *liv.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 500 talents | 1.500.000 *liv.* |
| 1000 talents | 3.000.000 *liv.* |
| 5000 talents | 15.000.000 *liv.* |
| 10.000 talents | 30.000.000 *liv.* |
| 20.000 talents | 60.000.000 *liv.* |
| 50.000 talents | 150.000.000 *liv.* |
| 100.000 talents | 300.000.000 *liv.* |

*A Table of the value of the Roman money.*

## A S.

| | |
|---|---|
| Millia ſingula æris, or 1000 aſſes | 50 *liv.* |
| Duo millia æris | 100 *liv.* |
| Quatuor millia æris | 200 *liv.* |
| 5 millia æris | 250 *liv.* |
| 10 millia æris | 500 *liv.* |
| 20 millia æris | 1000 *liv.* |
| 50 millia æris | 2500 *liv.* |
| 100 millia æris | 5000 *liv.* |
| 500 millia æris | 25.000 *liv.* |
| 1000 millia æris millies | 50.000 *liv.* |
| 10.000 millia æris decies millies | 500.000 *liv.* |
| 20.000 millia æris vigeſies millies | 1.000.000 *liv.* |
| 100.000 millia æris centies millies | 5.000.000 *liv.* |

## SESTERTIUS.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Seſtertius, ſive nummus | 2 *ſols and half.* |
| 8 Seſtertii ſive nummi | 1 *liv.* |
| 24 ſeſtertii | 3 *liv.* |
| 80 ſeſtertii | 10 *liv.* |
| 100 ſeſtertii | 12 *liv.* 10 *ſols.* |
| 200 ſeſtertii | 25 *liv.* |
| 400 ſeſtertii | 50 *liv.* |

800 ſeſtertii

| | |
|---|---|
| 800 ſeſtertii | 100 *liv.* |
| 1.000 ſeſtertii | 125 *liv.* |
| 4.000 ſeſtertii | 500 *liv.* |
| 8.000 ſeſtertii | 1000 *liv.* |
| 80.000 ſeſtertii | 10.000 *liv.* |
| 100.000 vel centena millia HS. ſeu nummûm | 12.5000 *liv.* |
| 200.000, vel bis centena millia HS. | 25.000 *liv.* |
| 500.000, vel quingenta millia HS. | 62.500 *liv.* |
| .000.000, vel decies centena HS. | 125.000 *liv.* |
| uindecies centena millia HS. | 187.500 *liv.* |
| icies centena millia HS. | 250.000 *liv.* |
| uinquagies centena millia HS. | 625.000 *liv.* |
| nties centena millia HS. *or* 10.000.000 of ſeſter. 1 mill. | 250.000 *liv.* |
| uingenties centena millia HS. *or* 50.000.000 of ſeſter. 6 mill. | 250.000 *liv.* |
| illies centena millia HS. *or* 100.000.000 of ſeſter. 12 mill. | 500.000 *liv.* |
| is millies centena millia HS. *or* 200.000.000 of ſeſterces | 25 millions. |
| ecies millies centena millia HS *or* 1.000.000.000 of ſeſterces | 125 millions. |
| icies millies centena millia HS. *or* 2.000.000.000 of ſeſterces | 250 millions. |
| uadragies millies centena millia HS. *or* 4.000.000.000 of ſeſterces | 500 millions. |
| uadragies quater millies centena millia HS. *or* 4.400 millions of ſeſterces | 550 millions. |
| uadragies octies millies centena millia HS. *or* 4.800.000.000 of ſeſterces | 600 millions. |
| uinquagies ſexies millies centena millia HS. *or* 5.600.000.000 of ſeſterces | 700 millions. |
| exagies quater millies centena millia HS. *or* 6.400.000.000 of ſeſterces | 800 millions. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Septuagies bis millies centena millia HS. *or* 7.200.000.000 of ſeſterces | 900 millions. |
| Octuagies millies centena millia HS. *or* 8.000.000.000 of ſeſterces | 1000 millions. |
| Centies millies centena millia HS. *or* 10.000.000.000 of ſeſterces | 1250 millions. |

## SESTERTIUM.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Seſterium | 250 drachmæ. | 125 *liv.* |
| 2 ſeſtertia | 500 dr. | 250 *liv.* |
| 4 ſeſtertia | 1000 dr. | 500 *liv.* |
| 10 ſeſtertia | 2500 dr. | 1250 *liv.* |
| 20 ſeſtertia | 5000 dr. | 2500 *liv.* |
| 50 ſeſtertia | 12.500 dr. | 6250 *liv.* |
| 100 ſeſtertia | 25.000 dr. | 12.500 *liv.* |

1000 ſeſtertia, or *decies ſeſtertium*, is the ſame thing as *decies centena millia HS.* mentioned above, and ſo of the following numbers.

# BOOK the FIFTH.

## *Of Philoſophy.*

SHOULD I undertake to treat philoſophy in all its extent, I might apply myſelf to the boys, for whom I write, in the words which Tully puts into the mouth of Anthony, who was once prevailed upon to talk of rhetorick againſt his inclination. "[s] Hear, "ſaid he, hear a man that is going to inſtruct you in "what he has never learnt himſelf." There would be only this difference in the caſe, that Anthony's ignorance was feigned and counterfeit, whereas mine is actual and true, having never applied myſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, but very ſuperficially, for which I have often had cauſe to repent. Though perhaps if I had ſtudied it under as ſkilful maſters as have ſince been in the univerſity, and are now there in great number, I might have had as much taſte for it as for the ſtudy of polite learning, to which alone I have given up all my time. But however I am enough acquainted with the uſefulneſs and great advantages deducible from it, to exhort youth not to fail in giving all the application they poſſibly can to ſo important a ſcience. 'Tis to this particular I ſhall confine myſelf in this ſmall diſſertation, which ſhall not be a treatiſe of philoſophy, but a bare exhortation to the boys to ſtudy it with care.

Though we had nothing more than eloquence in view, this ſtudy would be abſolutely neceſſary, as Tully declares in more than one place, and he makes no ſcruple to own, that what progreſs he had made in the art of ſpeaking was leſs owing to the precepts

[s] Audite verò, audite, inquit, quid de omni genere dicendi hominem, &c. Docebo vos, diſciguli, id quod ipſe non didici, ſentiam. Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 28, 29.

of

In one of Josh Billings' late papers he ſay "The sun was a going to bed, and the ha far and near were a-blushing at the pu pace."

of the rhetoricians than the leſſons of the philoſophers. [h] *Fateor me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, non ex rhetorum officinis ſed ex academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe.* But the uſefulneſs of philoſophy is far from being confined to eloquence; it extends to all the conditions and every ſeaſon of life.

In ſhort, this ſtudy, when properly directed and carefully purſued, may contribute very much to regulate the manners, to perfect reaſon and judgment, to adorn the mind with an infinity of learned notions equally uſeful and curious, and what I think far more valuable, to inſpire youth with a great reverence for religion, and fortify them by ſolid principles againſt the falſe and dangerous arguments of infidelity, which are every day gaining ground upon us.

## ARTICLE the FIRST.

### *Philoſophy may be very ſerviceable in regulating the manners.*

ONE of the moſt effectual methods for regulating the conduct of man is to make him acquainted with what he is, upon what conditions he received his being, what obligations and duties he lies under, whither he ought to tend, and for what end he was created. Now this is the ſubject of philoſophy; I ſay, even of the Pagan philoſophy; and in my opinion its inſtructions upon all theſe points, though imperfect and often intermixed with obſcurity, ought to have a great weight upon every reaſonable mind.

Man came out of the hand of God not only the moſt excellent of his works, but the moſt perfect image of himſelf. He bears ſome reſemblance in every thing about him to the nobleneſs of his extraction, and

[h] Orat. n. 12.

bears

bears the lines and characters of his original in a manner imprinted in his nature.

With regard to the ſoul, an inſatiable deſire of learning, a penetration and ſagacity that extends to every thing, a deſire of happineſs which nothing limited can ſatisfy, the lively ſenſe of a liberty to which every thing is indifferent, except [i] one ſole object, the thorough conviction of its being deſigned for immortality; all theſe, and a great many other circumſtances, ſhew clearly how great man is, and [k] how he cannot, ('tis Tully who ſpeaks thus) if we may be allowed the expreſſion, be compared to any thing but God himſelf.

If we conſider only the [l] ſtructure of his body, 'tis plain that nothing but the hand of God could poſſibly form ſo perfect a work, diſpoſe it with ſo much order, ſo much beauty, ſuch connection and proportion between all the parts which compoſe it, [m] ſo as to make it a proper abode for the maſter that inhabits it. And we ſee that Seneca had reaſon to ſay, man was not a precipitate and haſty performance, but the maſterpiece of the divine wiſdom, [n] *ſcias non eſſe hominem tumultuarum & incogitatum opus.*

Now with what deſign was he framed? We will anſwer in a word [o], God made the whole world for man, and man for himſelf; that by him nature, otherwiſe dumb and ſtupid, might become in a manner eloquent and grateful towards its Creator; and that man placed in the midſt of the creatures, who were all deſigned for his uſe and ſervice, might lend them his

*Firſt duty of man with regard to the Divinity.*

[i] Good, in the general acceptation of the word, and the ſupreme good evidently known.

[k] Animus humanus, decerptus ex mente divina, cum alio nullo, niſi cum ipſo Deo, ſi hoc fas eſt dictu, comparari poteſt. Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. v. n. 38.

[l] We may read in Tully, lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 133, 153. and in M. de Fénelon's Lettres ſur la religion, pag. 163. the admirable deſcription they give of the ſeveral parts of the body, and their reſpective functions.

[m] Figuram corporis habilem & aptam ingenio humano dedit. Lib. i. de Leg. n. 26.

[n] Lib. vi. de Benef. cap. 23.

[o] Omnia quæ ſunt in hoc mundo, quibus utuntur homines, hominum cauſa facta ſunt & parata. Lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 154.

voice,

voice, his underſtanding and admiration, and be in a manner the prieſt of all nature. How many benefits in ſhort has it pleaſed God to confer upon man? Not content with providing for his neceſſities, his care and tenderneſs have ſupplied him even with what miniſters to pleaſure and delight. [p] *Neque enim neceſſitatibus tantummodo noſtris proviſum eſt, uſque in delicias amamur.* [q] What variety of trees, herbs and excellent fruits for the different ſeaſons of the year? What an immenſe number of animals are induſtriouſly ſupplied by the air, earth and ſea? There is no part of nature which does not pay a tribute to man, that man in his turn may pay the Author of all theſe benefits the due homage of gratitude and praiſe, which is the principal part of the worſhip we owe to the Deity, and the moſt eſſential duty of the creature. Nor muſt ingratitude be allowed to ſay, that it is nature ſupplies us with all theſe bleſſings, unleſs by this word, which has uſually no diſtinct idea affixed to it, we are to underſtand only the Divinity himſelf, which moves every thing, produces every thing, ſhews himſelf to us in every thing, and makes himſelf known to us every moment by his benefits and bounty. [r] *Quocunque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi. Nihil ab illo vacat. Ergo nihil agis, ingratiſſime mortalium, qui te negas Deo debere, ſed naturæ. . . Quid enim aliud eſt natura, quam Deus?*

If man, ſays [s] Epictetus, had any ſenſe of honour and gratitude, all that he ſees in nature, all that he experiences in himſelf, would be to him a continual ſubject of gratitude, praiſe and thankſgiving. The herb of the field which ſupplies the animals with milk for his nouriſhment, the wool of thoſe animals which

[p] Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. c. 5.

[q] Tot arbuſta non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ ſalutares, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digeſtæ, ut inerti quoque fortunæ terræ alimenta præberent. Jam animalia omnis generis, alia in ſicco ſolidoque, alia in humido nutrientia, alia per ſublime dimiſſa; ut omnis rerum natura pars tributum nobis aliquod conferret. Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. cap 5.

[r] Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. cap. 7 & 8.

[s] Arrian. Epict. lib. i. c. 16. Epictetus was a Stoick philoſopher, who lived in the firſt century. He was the ſlave of Epaphroditus, a captain of Nero's guards.

ſur-

furniſhes him with clothes, ought to fill him with admiration. When he ſees the clods of earth cruſhed and broken to pieces by the plough-ſhare, and a long ridge thrown up for the reception of the ſeed, he ought to cry out, How great is God, how good, in having procured for us all the inſtruments proper for tillage? When he ſits down to table to eat, every thing ſhould recal God to his mind, and renew his gratitude. 'Tis he, he ſhould ſay, who has given me hands to take up my food, teeth to break and grind it, a ſtomach to digeſt it; and what is the ſubject of praiſes which more nearly concern me, it is he who to all the benefits he confers upon me, adds beſides the ineſtimable advantage of knowing the author of them, and making ſuch uſe of them, as is conformable to his will. As then, continues the ſame Epictetus, all mankind are plunged into a deep lethargy concerning Providence, is it not juſt that ſome one, in the name of all the reſt, ſhould publickly ſing hymns and ſongs to its honour? What elſe can ſuch a weak and [t] lame old man, as I am, do than celebrate the divine praiſes? [u] Were I a ſwan or a nightingale, I would ſing, becauſe that would be the end for which I was created. But as reaſon has fallen to my lot, I ought to employ myſelf in praiſing God. 'Tis my proper function and buſineſs, which I will regularly diſcharge, and never ceaſe to diſcharge to my lateſt breath; and I would adviſe you to do ſo likewiſe. One would imagine it was a Chriſtian that was here ſpeaking, and not a Stoick philoſopher.

*Second duty of man with regard to himſelf.*

Beſides this principal duty, which is the foundation of religion, man has another, which is by his virtues

[t] One day, as his maſter, who was very paſſionate, gave him a violent blow upon the leg, he coldly bid him take care, or he would break it. And the maſter repeating his blows in ſuch a manner as to break it indeed, Epicteus without any emotion continued, Did not I tell you, that if you went on thus, you would break my leg? He reduced all philoſophy to the two points of bearing and forbearing. Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου.

[u] Εἰ γὰρ ἀηδὼν ἤμην, ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνος. Εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. Νῦν δὲ λογικὸς εἰμι· ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν Θεόν.

to repreſent and imitate the Deity, of whom he is the living and animated image. [v] How little ſoever he examines himſelf, he may diſcern the precious lines of it, and the impreſſion ſtampt upon his ſoul, which is in a manner the temple of God, and this ſhould lead him to make the dignity of his ſentiments correſpond with the dignity of his origin. From thence ariſe thoſe natural ideas and primitive notions which we bear about us of good and evil, juſt and unjuſt, virtue and vice; [x] notions common to all mankind, who without any agreement amongſt themſelves alike annex the idea of turpitude to vice, and glory to virtue; for there is no nation which does not love and eſteem thoſe, who are of a mild, humane, obliging character; and which on the other hand does not deſpiſe and hate ſuch perſons as are of a cruel, ungrateful, haughty diſpoſition, who take a pleaſure in doing ill. Thence alſo ariſes the inward [y] teſtimony and ſecret voice of conſcience, which makes the juſt enjoy peace in the midſt of the greateſt afflictions, and creates the wicked ſuch cruel torments in the very boſom of the greateſt joy and moſt ſenſible pleaſures, and which preſcribes to both the rules they ought to follow, and the duties they ought to fulfil.

[z] Theſe rules and laws are not arbitrary and dependant upon the fancies of men; they are imprinted in the

[v] Qui ſe ipſe norit, aliquid ſentiet ſe habere divinum, ingenimque in ſe ſuum ſicut ſimulacrum aliquod dedicatum putabit: tantoque munere deorum ſemper dignum aliquid & faciet & ſentiet. Lib. i. de Leg. n. 59.

[x] Communis intelligentia nobis notas res effecit, eaſque in animis noſtris inchoavit, ut honeſta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. ... Quæ natio non comitatem, non benignitatem, non gratum animum & beneficii memorem diligit? Quæ ſuperbos, quæ maleficos, quæ crudeles, quæ ingratos non aſpernatur & odit? Lib. I. de leg. c. 44, & 32.

[y] Magna vis eſt conſcientiæ in utramque partem: ut neque timeant qui nihil commiſerunt, & pœnam ſemper ante oculos verſari putent qui peccaverunt. Cic. pro Mil. n. 63.

[z] Hanc video ſapientiſſimorum hominum fuiſſe ſententiam: Legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, neque ſcitum aliquod eſſe populorum, ſed æternum quiddam, quod univerſum mundum regeret imperandi prohibendique ſapientia..... Quæ vis non modò ſemor

the ſubſtance of the ſoul, by the Creator; they exiſted before all ages, and are of greater antiquity than the world, as they are an emanation of the Divine Wiſdom, which cannot think otherwiſe of virtue and vice. They are the model and original of human laws, which in a manner ceaſe to be, as ſoon as they ſwerve from this primitive type of juſtice and truth, which all lawgivers ſhould propoſe to follow in all their inſtitutions.

Theſe firſt notions of good and evil may be weakened and obſcured by a bad education, by the torrent of example, by the violence of paſſions, and above all by the dangerous attractions of pleaſure, which ſpoils and corrupts our minds by falſe delights, which it lays before us, that we do not find in the practice of virtue. But there is conſtantly left within us an inward ſenſe of theſe primitive truths, and it is the buſineſs of philoſophy to rekindle theſe precious ſparks by its ſalutary inſtructions, to remove all errors from us, by giving us a nearer view of the firſt principles, to cure us of popular opinions and prejudices, to make us underſtand [a] that we are born for juſtice and virtue, to convince us by ſenſible and evident proofs [b], that there is a Providence which governs and preſides over all, and which takes care not only of the world in general, but of every man in particular; that nothing eſcapes

ſenior eſt quàm ætas populorum & civitatem, ſed æqualis illius cœlum atque terras tuentis & regentis Dei. Neque enim eſſe mens divina ſine ratione poteſt: nec ratio divina non hanc vim in rectis praviſque ſanciendis habere. . . . . Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & vitandum, ratio eſt recta ſummi Jovis. . . . . Ergo eſt lex juſtorum injuſtorumque diſtinctio, ad illam antiquiſſimam & rerum omnium principem expreſſa naturam, ad quam leges hominum diriguntur, quæ ſupplicio improbos afficiunt, & defundunt, & tuentur bonos. Lib. ii. de leg. n. 8, 13.

[a] Nos ad juſtitiam eſſe natos, neque opinione, ſed natura conſtitutum eſſe jus. Lib. i. de leg. n. 28.

[b] Dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine. (Neque univerſo generi hominum ſolùm, ſed etiam ſingulis à Diis immortalibus conſuli & provideri. Lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 64.) Eoſdem qualis quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud ſanè abhorrebunt ab utili & à vera ſententia. Lib. ii. de leg. n. 15.

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its all-ſeeing eyes, and that God knows thoroughly all our actions, and ſees our moſt ſecret thoughts and intentions; for ſuch a conviction is very proper to inſpire us with reſpect for the Deity, and love for virtue.

*Third duty of man in regard to ſociety.*

Though a man were alone upon earth, he would be always bound to obſerve the two ſorts of duties, which I have now ſpoken of, that is, he ought always to honour the Divinity, and pay a regard to himſelf, by living in a wiſe and regular manner; [c] but he is under other obligations with relation to the common ſociety whereof he is a member. God is the common father of a great family, and all men are his children, united by the bond of humanity, formed for one another, and conſequently obliged to promote the publick good, and mutually aſſiſt each other by all good offices. Thus a man ſhould not limit his views or his zeal to the particular place where he was born, but look upon himſelf as a citizen of the whole world, [d] which in this ſenſe is but a ſingle city.

[e] 'Tis true, this general ſociety, which at firſt takes in the whole race of mankind, afterwards divides itſelf by degrees into other leſs extenſive ſocieties, betwixt men of the ſame city and the ſame family, and from thence ariſe the different duties of civil ſociety with regard to friends, allies, relations, parents, and country; but they have all their origin in the firſt principle we have laid down, which is, that man, according to the views and appointment of God, is born for man.

[c] Quoniam (ut præclarè ſcriptum eſt à Platone) non nobis ſolùm nati ſumus, ortuſque noſtri partem patria vindicat, partem parentes, partem amici; hominesque hominum cauſa generati ſunt, ut ipſi inter ſe alius alii prodeſſe poſſint: in hoc naturam debemus ducem ſequi; & communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum. Lib. i. de Off. n. 22.

[d] Univerſus hic mundus, una civitas communis hominum exiſtimanda. De leg. lib. i. n. 23.

Socrates quidem, cum rogaretur Cujatem ſe eſſe diceret. Mundanum inquit: totius enim mundi ſe incolam & civem arbitrabatur. Lib. v. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 108.

[e] Gradus plures ſunt ſocietatis hominum. . . . Ab illa enim immenſa ſocietate generis humani, in exiguum anguſtumque concluditur. Lib. i. de Off. n. 53.

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This is a ſmall abridgment of the maxims of morality, which Paganiſm ſupplies us with, and theſe principles it muſt be owned are great, ſolid, and evident; but they do not extend ſo far as they ought; and as perfect as they appear, they leave us on the way, without ſhewing us either the motive that ſhould ſanctify our actions, or the end we ſhould propoſe to ourſelves in them. 'Tis the holy Scripture alone, which gives us a clear and certain notion of man, by diſcovering to us the advantages of his firſt origin; his fall into ſin, and the fatal conſequences of that fall; his reſtoration by a Redeemer; his different duties with regard to God, his neighbour, and himſelf; the end he ought to have in view, and the means of conducting him to it; and a Chriſtian philoſopher will not fail to inſtruct his ſcholars in all theſe truths. But in my opinion, it is no ſmall advantage to point out to them in Paganiſm itſelf, the rules of ſuch refined morality and the principles of ſo ſublime a conduct, which invincibly prove that virtue is not an empty name, as the libertines would perſuade themſelves, nor the duties of religion and of civil life mere human eſtabliſhments, politically invented to lay a reſtraint upon the multitude; but that all theſe duties, all theſe obligations, and all theſe laws, are included in the very nature of man, and a neceſſary conſequence of God's deſigns towards him.

'Tis for this reaſon I look upon it as a very uſeful cuſtom to make the youth, who ſtudy philoſophy, read from time to time ſelect paſſages out of the philoſophical books of Tully, and eſpecially from thoſe where he treats of offices and laws.

Beſides this advantage, they will find there wherewithal to improve the taſte of polite learning, which they have acquired in the preceding claſſes; and it may alſo be of great uſe to maſters themſelves, by teaching them to write Latin in a pure, neat and elegant manner, proper for the treating philoſophical ſubjects, which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence to their profeſſion.

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## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *Philoſophy may very much contribute to the perfection of reaſon.*

OF all the natural gifts which man has received from God, reaſon is the moſt excellent; that which diſtinguiſhes him moſt from other animals, and which diſplays in him the brighteſt lines of his reſemblance to God. By reaſon he has the idea of what is beautiful, great, juſt and true; he decides and judges concerning the properties of every thing; he compares ſeveral objects together, deduces conſequences from principles, makes uſe of one truth to come at another; and laſtly, by reaſon he gives order and connection to his notions and reaſonings, which diffuſe a light and grace through them, which render them far more intelligible, and diſcover more fully their whole force and truth. The importance of a ſcience which aids and aſſiſts the mind in all theſe operations, is eaſily conceived.

We find excellent reflections upon this ſubject, in the firſt diſcourſe prefixed to the art of thinking. I ſhall make uſe of them here, as knowing nothing more proper to give youth a juſt eſteem and taſte for philoſophy, or more capable of explaining to them all the advantages, and even neceſſities of it.

"There is nothing, ſays the author of this logick, more valuable than good ſenſe, and rectitude of mind in diſcerning truth and falſhood. All the other qualities of the mind are limited in their uſe, but exactneſs of reaſon is univerſally uſeful, in all parts and in all the employments of life. It is not only difficult in the ſciences to diſtinguiſh truth from error, but alſo

(a) In homine optimum quid eſt? Ratio perfecta, propriumque hominis bonum eſt; cætera illi cum animalibus fatisque communia. Senec. Epiſt. 76.

moſt of the ſubjects that men ſpeak of, and the affairs of which they treat. There are almoſt univerſally different paths, ſome true, and others falſe, and it is the buſineſs of reaſon to make the choice. Thoſe who chuſe well have a right underſtanding, and thoſe who chuſe amiſs have a wrong one; and this is the firſt and moſt important difference that we can make betwixt the qualities of the human mind.

Thus our principal application ſhould be to form the judgment, and render it as exact as may be; and it is to this end the greateſt part of our ſtudy ſhould be directed. We make uſe of reaſon as an inſtrument to acquire the ſciences; and on the other hand, we ſhould make uſe of the ſciences as an inſtrument to bring our reaſon to perfection; a right mind being far more conſiderable than all the branches of ſpeculative knowledge we are capable of obtaining, by means of the moſt true and ſolid ſciences.——Men are not born to ſpend their time in meaſuring of lines, in examining the proportion of angles, or conſidering the different motions of matter. Their underſtanding is too great, their life too ſhort, their time too precious to be employed upon ſuch trivial objects. But they are obliged to be juſt, equitable and judicious in all their diſcourſe, in all their actions, and in all the affairs they undertake, and for this they ſhould principally exerciſe and form themſelves.

This care and ſtudy is ſo much the more neceſſary, as it is ſurpriſing how ſeldom we meet with this exactneſs of judgment. We ſcarce meet with any but wrong minds, that have very little diſcernment of truth, take all things by a falſe bias, that pay themſelves with very bad reaſons, and would put them off upon others as current, ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by the ſlighteſt appearances, and are always in exceſs; who boldly decide concerning matters they are ignorant of and do not underſtand, and who adhere to their own opinions with ſuch inflexible obſtinacy, that they will hearken to no body that can undeceive them.

This

This ill turn of the mind is not only the cauſe of errors in the ſciences, but alſo of moſt part of the faults which are committed in civil life; unjuſt quarrels, ſuits of law ill grounded, raſh advice, and ill concerted enterprizes. There are few of them which have not their ſource in ſome error, and ſome fault of judgment. So that there is no defect which we are more nearly concerned to correct.

A great part of the falſe judgments of mankind are cauſed by precipitation of mind, and through want of attention, ſo that a raſh judgment is paſſed upon what we know but confuſedly and obſcurely. The ſmall regard which men have for truth, makes them often careleſs about diſtinguiſhing what is true from what is falſe. They ſuffer all ſorts of diſcourſe and maxims to enter into their minds, chuſe rather to take them for true than to examine them. If they do not underſtand them, they are willing to believe that others do; and thus they burthen their memory with abundance of falſe and obſcure things not underſtood, and reaſon upon thoſe principles, almoſt without conſidering what they ſay or what they think. Vanity and preſumption very much contribute to this fault. They think it a ſhame to doubt and be ignorant, and chuſe rather to talk and decide at random, than to own that they are not ſufficiently informed in the points in debate, to paſs a judgment upon them. We all abound in ignorance and error, and yet there is no difficulty ſo great as to prevail upon any one to own himſelf miſtaken, though the acknowledement be ſo juſt and ſo agreeable to our natural condition.

There are others on the contrary, who having underſtanding enough to know that many things are obſcure and uncertain, and being willing to ſhew, by another kind of vanity, that they are not carried away by popular credulity, place their glory in maintaining that there is nothing certain. Thus they get rid of the trouble of examining them, and upon this bad principle call in queſtion the moſt received truths and religion

ligion itſelf. This is the ſource of Pyrrhoniſm, w[illegible] is another extravagance of human underſtand[illegible] though it ſeems oppoſite to the raſhneſs of t[illegible] give credit to every thing, and decide upon [illegible] thing, yet it proceeds notwithſtanding from the ſ[illegible] ſource, which is the want of attention. For a[illegible] one will not give themſelves the trouble to find out error, ſo the others will not take the pains to diſcover truth, with the care that is neceſſary to diſcern the evidence of it. The leaſt glimmering of light is ſufficient for the one to make them believe extravagant falſhoods, and ſuffices to the other to make them doubt of the moſt certain facts. But both in the one and the other theſe very different effects ariſe from the ſame want of application.

Right reaſon places all things in the rank that properly belongs to them; it doubts concerning ſuch as are doubtful, rejects ſuch as are falſe, and ſincerely acknowledges ſuch as are evident.

To theſe reflections, extracted from the art of thinking, I ſhall add one from M. L'Abbé Fleury.

All the world, ſays he in his treatiſe of ſtudy, ſee the uſefulneſs of reaſoning juſtly; I mean not only the ſciences, but in buſineſs and the whole conduct of life. But many perhaps do not ſee the neceſſity of recurring to the firſt principles, becauſe in reality there are few who do it. The moſt part of mankind reaſon only in a narrow compaſs, from one principle, which the authority of others, or their own paſſion, has imprinted in their minds, to the neceſſary means for acquiring what they deſire. I muſt firſt grow rich, then I will engage in ſuch an employment, I will take ſuch a ſtep, I will ſuffer this and that; and ſo of the reſt. But what ſhall I do with my ſubſtance, when I have got it, or is it an advantage to me to be rich? theſe are points which are not enquired into.

The man of real learning, the true philoſopher, goes much farther, and begins a great deal higher. He neither ſtops at the authority of others, nor his own

prejudices; he ſtill proceeds, till he has found out a principle of natural light, and ſo clear a truth, that he can no longer call it in queſtion. But then, when he has once diſcovered it, he boldly deduces all the conſequences that flow from it, and never ſwerves from them; and thence it follows that he is ſtedfaſt in his doctrine and conduct, inflexible in his reſolutions, patient in the execution, even in his temper, and conſtant in virtue.

It is plain enough of what importance it is to fortify, with early impreſſions, the minds of youth, by ſuch principles, againſt the falſe judgments and falſe reaſonings which occur ſo commonly in the diſcourſe and conduct of mankind; and this is the effect of philoſophy, whoſe principal end, as I have already obſerved, is to give perfection to reaſon.

I am very ſenſible that reaſon is a natural gift, that it proceeds not from art, and cannot be the pure effect of labour; but art and labour may improve it, direct it, and carry it to perfection. We now find in performances of wit, in diſcourſes from the pulpit and at the bar, in treatiſes relating to ſcience, an order, exactneſs, proportion and ſolidity, which were not formerly ſo common. Several are of opinion, and upon good grounds, that we owe this manner of thinking and writing to the extraordinary progreſs which has been made for an age paſt in the ſtudy of philoſophy.

When I ſay that philoſophy is very uſeful towards bringing reaſon to perfection, I would not be underſtood to ſpeak only of the rules, which logick in particular lays down upon this ſubject. They are very uſeful in themſelves, not only as they ſerve to diſcover the defect of cert in perplexed arguments, but as they aſſiſt us in tracing the ſource of moſt part of the errors which creep into our thoughts and reaſonings. The ſame may be ſaid of the rules of rhetorick. It cannot be denied but that they are a very great help to eloquence; but it is principally in the application made

made of them to the diſcourſes of the ancients and moderns, whoſe beauties and faults are explained to youth, by the conformity or oppoſition they bear to theſe precepts.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of the rules of logick. Their principal uſefulneſs conſiſts in the application of them to the ſeveral queſtions we examine, and the reaſonings we make upon any ſubject whatſoever.

As the minds of youth, when they enter upon philoſophy, are generally not much formed, they are firſt put upon ſuch matters as are eaſy, intelligible, and within the reach of their capacity. The manner of reaſoning by ſyllogiſms, which appears to ſome perſons long and tedious, is abſolutely neceſſary, eſpecially in the beginning, and the pupils will remain dumb and in a manner ſtupid, if they were put upon talking otherwiſe.

They ſhould be made to obſerve, in what manner ſometimes the omiſſion of a word, the change of a term, a double meaning, an equivocal expreſſion, render an argument faulty.

They are taught to keep cloſe to their principles, to reduce every thing to them, never to depart from them, and to give a ſolution of the difficulties that are urged againſt them.

By this daily exerciſe, and continual application of rules, their mind is enlarged and improved by degrees, daily unfolds itſelf more and more, is accuſtomed to diſcover where the falſhood lies, acquires a facility of expreſſion, and becomes capable of diſcuſſing the moſt difficult and abſtruſe queſtions. I have been aſtoniſhed when I aſſiſted at the exerciſes of philoſophy, to ſee the ſenſible change made in the ſcholars every quarter; their reaſon was ſo much improved, that by the end of the courſe they could not be known for the ſame perſons. This is the common effect in the claſſes of philoſophy, when the ſcholars want neither capacity nor application; and the great advantages they derive from this ſtudy are not to be expreſſed.

The ſudden change from the ſtudy of polite learning to philoſophy, that is from an agreeable country, where all is gay and ſmiling, and covered over with flowers, to a region uſually dry, thorny, and craggy, gives ſometimes a ſhock to youth; and it is for this reaſon, as I have already inſinuated, that I could wiſh that the latinity of their ſheets was as pure and elegant as that of the philoſophical works of Tully. But this very inconvenience ſhews how neceſſary the ſtudy of philoſophy is. Nothing is more contrary to the ſolidity of the mind, as well as the health of the body, than perpetual pleaſures. By this means both the one and the other contract a weakneſs and effeminacy, which makes them incapable of taking pains. To have nothing but what is pleaſing and agreeable in view, is like living conſtantly upon milk, and being always in a ſtate of infancy.

Truth may preſent itſelf to us under two faces. Sometimes it ſhews itſelf under all the pomp and ſplendor of eloquence, and has a juſt claim to all its ornaments, which are proper attendants upon it. It likewiſe often appears in a plain dreſs, under a very mean outſide, without any guard or attendance; and this laſt appearance ſuits beſt with its natural character. In the firſt caſe, a good judgment conſiſts in ſeparating truth from the ornaments which ſurround it, and may be common to it and falſhood; and in the ſecond, in not being offended at the meanneſs of its outſide ſhow, which is even ſometimes diſagreeable, but to view it thoroughly in itſelf, and to place all the value upon it which it deſerves.

Maſters do youth this double ſervice. Thoſe who teach them polite learning and eloquence, inure them by times, and from their admiſſion into the firſt claſs, to weigh reaſons more than words, principally to diſcern truth, to ſtrip the arguments of all the ornaments which they borrow from eloquence, in order to be more ſenſible of their force or weakneſs, and not to ſuffer themſelves be carried away by a deluſive glow

of

ords and figures, which are often void of ſenſe
matter. The philoſophers, on their ſide, chiefly
vour to make their diſciples attentive to truth,
dered in itſelf, to lay down certain rules to guide
in diſcerning it, to accuſtom them to a great
eſs and exactneſs in all their reaſonings, and to
e them, if I may be allowed the expreſſion with
tain taſte and notion of truth, which may direct
to diſcover it wherever it is to be found, and at
ame time enable them to reject what has no more
an outward appearance of it.

nother inconvenience, alſo very prejudicial to
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matters as are perplexed and difficult, or to pur-
he chain of an argument which is ſomewhat long
ntricate; or laſtly, to apply to ſuch ſubjects as
ible, abſtracted and independent of their ſenſes.

inconvenience is remedied by philoſophy in a
lerful manner, eſpecially by the ſtudy of meta-
cks and mathematicks, where the objects being
y ſpiritual, raiſe the ſoul above the conſideration
atter, and free it from the ſlavery wherein the
s ſtrive to retain it.

he author of the art of thinking has not failed to
ve the two inconveniencies I am ſpeaking of, to
how advantageous it is to be habituated early to
derſtanding of difficult truths. The paſſage is
autiful not to be inſerted here at full length.

ere are, ſays he, ſome ſtomachs which can only
light and delicate food, and there are ſome
which can only apply themſelves to comprehend
ſtinct, and ſuch as are clothed with the ornaments
ence. Both the one and the other is a vicious
act, or indeed a real weakneſs. The mind ſhould
nder'd capable of diſcovering truth, when hid and
ealed, and to reſpect it under whatever form it
ars. If we do not get over that diſguſt, which it

is eaſy for all the world to conceive againſt ſuch points as ſeem ſomewhat ſubtle and ſcholaſtick, we inſenſibly ſtreighten the mind, and render it incapable of comprehending what is not to be known but by a chain of ſeveral propoſitions. And thus, when a truth depends on three or four principles, which it is neceſſary to take a view of all at once, we are diſguſted and confuſed, and thereby deprived of the knowledge of ſeveral uſeful circumſtances, which is a very conſiderable defect. The capacity of the mind is extended and enlarged by uſe, and to this end the mathematicks, and all knotty and abſtracted queſtions in general principally conduce; for they give a certain enlargement to the mind, and exerciſe it in a ſtricter application, and cloſer attention to the points it knows.

It is almoſt incredible how ſerviceable this ſort of ſtudy is towards giving youth a ſtrength, exactneſs, and penetration of mind, which by degrees lead them to maſter themſelves, and unravel the moſt abſtracted and perplexed queſtions. I have ſeen a cuſtom practiſed in college, always attended with good ſucceſs; but then this was amongſt ſcholars of the beſt capacity. Beſides the ſheets of their claſs, they were made to read, either in publick or in private, certain parts of ſome philoſophical diſcourſes, ſuch as the ſix books of F. Malebranche's enquiry after truth, the meditations of Deſcartes, or his principles of natural philoſophy; and after theſe treatiſes had been read with them, and explained to them, they were put upon making extracts and ſummaries, each in their own way, but always with a certain order and method, by firſt giving clearly the ſtate of the queſtion, laying down the principles, giving the different proofs on which they are founded, exactly reciting all the difficulties that may be brought againſt them, and giving the ſolution of them. The maſter then reviſed theſe extracts, and if he found any paſſage which required either retrenchment or addition, to be enlarged or abridged, he obſerved upon it and gave his reaſons for correcting it.

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This method is certainly very capable of teaching the boys order, exactneſs and penetration, qualities which are very neceſſary in every employment of life. This will enable them to ſupport a long and laborious examination of any point, without being diſguſted, either at the obſcurity of the queſtions, or the multiplicity of the matters they are to diſcuſs, and this will inform them how to fix upon the deciſive point in the moſt intricate matter, never to loſe ſight of it, to refer all the reſt to it, and ſet the proofs of it in ſo ſtrong a light, and in ſuch order, as may fully ſhew the force of them.

Without ſpeaking of a great variety of rare and curious knowledge, taught by philoſophy, can we think two years employed in acquiring the talents I have juſt been ſpeaking of, (and I have known many ſcholars attain this advantage in that time) loſt or miſpent? Can any wiſe or reaſonable parents ever repent of having their children inſtructed in this manner? And if through a blind and inconſiderate haſte, which grows but too common, they abridge the time deſigned for philoſophy, have they not cauſe to blame themſelves for cutting off the part of their ſtudies, (I dare venture to ſay it, and my known taſte for a different kind of learning cannot render me ſuſpected) which is the moſt important, the moſt neceſſary, and moſt beneficial to boys, and of which the loſs can be the leaſt concealed, and is the moſt irreparable.

I conclude, from what I have ſaid, that ſuch parents as really love their children, ought to make them paſs through an entire courſe of philoſophy; to procure them, during that time, all the aſſiſtances neceſſary for their progreſs and improvement in this ſtudy; to engage them from time to time, to make repetitions in their preſence, over which their maſters muſt preſide; and eſpecially to declare to them, upon their firſt entrance on this courſe, it is their intention that they ſhall keep publickly all the acts which are uſually kept in philoſophy. This expence is not great upon the

foot matters now ſtand in the univerſity, and it cannot be reduced to too great a ſimplicity. But though it were more conſiderable, it is of ſo great importance to their children, and makes ſo great a difference in their ſtudy, by the indiſpenſible obligation it lays upon them to apply themſelves ſeriouſly to it, that they certainly ought not to ſpare it.

## ARTICLES III. and IV.

### *Philoſophy adorns the mind with an infinity of curious knowledge.*

### *It ſerves alſo to inſpire a great reſpect for religion.*

I JOIN here theſe two objects together, becauſe in reality they are naturally united, and one muſt lead to the other, as will be ſeen by what I have to ſay upon this ſubject.

It is ſurprizing that man, placed in the midſt of nature, which preſents him with the greateſt ſpectacle it is poſſible to imagine, and ſurrounded on all ſides with an infinity of wonders made for him, ſhould ſcarce ever think either of conſidering theſe wonders which are ſo deſerving of his attention and curioſity, or of taking a view of himſelf. He lives in the midſt of a world, of which he is the ſovereign, as a ſtranger, who looks with indifference upon all that paſſes in it, and as if it were not his concern. The univerſe, in all its parts declares and points out its Author, but for the moſt part to the deaf and blind, who have neither ears to hear nor eyes to ſee.

One of the greateſt ſervices that philoſophy can do us, is to awaken us from this drowſineſs, and rouze us from this lethargy, which is a diſhonour to humanity, and

and in a manner reduces us below the beaſts, whoſe ſtupidity is the conſequence of their nature, and not the effect of neglect or indifference. It awakens our curioſity, it excites our attention, and leads us, as it were by the hand, through all the parts of nature, to induce us to ſtudy and ſearch out the wonderful works of it.

It preſents the univerſe to our eyes as a large picture, whereof every part has its uſe, every line its grace and beauty, but is moſt wonderful when conſidered in the whole together. By laying before us ſo beautiful a ſpectacle, it teaches us to obſerve the order, ſymmetry and proportion, that reigns throughout the whole; and with what equality this order, both of the whole and of every part, is preſerved and maintained; and thereby leads us to the inviſible hand and wiſdom by which the whole is diſpoſed.

Philoſophy, by thus carrying man from wonder to wonder, and conducting him in a manner, through the whole world, does not ſuffer him to remain a ſtranger to himſelf, or to be ignorant of his own proper being, in which God has been pleaſed to draw his own image in a far more ſenſible and perfect manner than in the reſt of the creation.

'Tis plain, that I am here principally ſpeaking of that branch of philoſophy which is called *Phyſicks*, as it is employed in the conſideration of nature. I ſhall examine it under two views, the one of which I ſhall call the phyſicks of the learned, and the other the phyſicks of children. This laſt takes in only the objects themſelves, as they make an impreſſion upon the ſenſes; whereas the former enters upon a thorough examination of nature, and endeavours to find out its cauſes.

### *The Phyſicks of the Learned.*

The conſideration of the world, and the different parts of which it is compoſed, has always been the

ſtudy of philoſophers, and nothing is certainly more worthy of our attention. It is not poſſible to ſee the heavens and ſtars continually rolling over our heads, without being tempted to ſtudy their motion, and obſerve their order and regularity. Three principal ſyſtems have divided the philoſophers, of which I ſhall here give an abridgment.

### *The ſyſtems of the world.*

The firſt ſyſtem is Ptolemy's, under which I ſhall take in what his followers have added. This philoſopher lived in the ſecond century, under the Emperors Adrian and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, about the year of Chriſt 138.

He placed the earth in the center of the univerſe. According to him the Moon was nearer the earth than all the other plants. Above the Moon were Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and above all theſe planets was the Firmament, in which he ſuppoſed all the ſtars were fixed as in an arched roof, that was concentrical to the earth. In conſequence hereof, he ſuppoſed that the ſun, with all the plants and the fixed ſtars, were carried every twenty-four hours from eaſt to weſt round the earth by an heaven, which he placed above the firmament, and which having this motion communicated it to all the inferior heavens, and conſequently to the planets, which adhered to them.

Beſides this motion, which was common to all the heavenly bodies, he attributed a particular movement to the ſun, planets, and fixed ſtars, from weſt to eaſt, but in ſuch manner that every one of theſe bodies was to make its revolution round the earth at different times. Thus the ſun took up a year in making his revolution from weſt to eaſt, Saturn thirty years, &c.

Copernicus was born about the end of the fifteenth century, and judging that the appearances of the heavens could not well be explained upon Ptolemy's hypotheſis,

hypotheſis, he invented another; and after he had ſpent above thirty years about it, he at laſt communicated it to the publick, being much preſſed to it by the reproaches and ſolicitations of his friends. This hypotheſis was not entirely unknown to the ancients, and in ſome parts of it ſtands thus.

The ſun lies in the center of the circles, which Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn deſcribe by their proper motion from weſt to eaſt. The earth, according to him, has a like motion with that of the planets, which are ſituated thus. He places above the ſun, but at different diſtances, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and the fixed ſtars beyond all theſe planets, which are at ſo conſiderable a diſtance from the earth, that thirty millions of leagues are an inconſiderable length in compariſon.

Inſtead of ſaying with Ptolemy, that all the heavens, and conſequently all the heavenly bodies, turn round the earth in twenty-four hours from eaſt to weſt, he ſuppoſes that the earth turns round its own axis in twenty-four hours, and that in conſequence of this motion, all the heavenly bodies muſt ſeem to turn round the earth in twenty-four hours from eaſt to weſt. In like manner, to explain the apparent annual motion of the ſun from eaſt to weſt, he ſuppoſes that the earth moves every year from weſt to eaſt round the ſun.

He ſuppoſes alſo that the moon moves round the earth in twenty-ſeven days and a half, whilſt the earth is moving round the ſun.

As to the other planets he ſuppoſes that they move round the ſun in a greater or leſs time, in proportion as they are more or leſs diſtant from it.

Moons or ſatellites have been diſcovered round Jupiter and Saturn, which move about thoſe planets, whilſt they are carried round the ſun in the ſame manner as the moon moves round the earth.

The third ſyſtem is that of Tycho Brahe a philoſopher, born about the middle of the ſixteenth century. This ſyſtem, which properly ſpeaking is but a mix-

ture of the other two, did not met with many followers, nor do I think it neceſſary to give an account of it here. That of Copernicus prevails moſt at preſent, and is founded on principles which make it very probable.

Theſe ſyſtems are but bare conjectures, as it has not pleaſed God, who alone is thoroughly acquainted with his own work, to diſcover to us in expreſs terms the order and diſpoſition of it; and it is for this reaſon that the ſcripture ſays, that he has ſet the world for man to diſpute about; [s] *Mundum tradidit diſputationi eorum.* But this ſtudy, though it is not certain and evident in itſelf, does, notwithſtanding, extremely ſatisfy the mind, by laying a ſyſtem before it, which explains all the effects of nature in a ſenſible and rational manner, and at the ſame time gives us a clear and diſtinct idea of the infinite greatneſs, power, and wiſdom of God.

By means of teleſcopes, the modern aſtronomers have made ſuch diſcoveries in the heavens, as, tho' very certain, will always appear chimerical to the generality of mankind.

According to theſe aſtronomers, Saturn is four thouſand times bigger than the earth, Jupiter eight thouſand times, and the Sun a million of times bigger.

The diſtance of the earth and planets from the ſun is no leſs incredible. A cannon ball in going from the earth to the ſun, if it always kept its firſt degree of velocity, would take up twenty-five years before it got thither, and, if diſcharged from Saturn, would not arrive there in leſs than two hundred and fifty years. Now a cannon ball flies ſix hundred feet in the ſecond of a minute; ſuppoſing then that it ſhould conſtantly preſerve the ſame velocity with which it paſſed the firſt ſix hundred feet after its coming out of the cannon, it would move one hundred and eighty leagues in one hour, and conſequently in paſſing from the earth to the ſun, it would move thirty-nine millions

[s] Eccl. iii. 11.

four

four hundred and twenty thouſand leagues, which upon this ſuppoſition, is the earth's diſtance from the ſun; and the diſtance of Saturn from the ſun, is to be computed in proportion.

The bigneſs of the fixed ſtars, and their diſtance from the ſun are ſtill more inconceivable.

Every one of theſe fixed ſtars is a ſun, and there is reaſon to believe of no leſs bigneſs than that which enlightens us. Thoſe ſtars, which are neareſt to us, are notwithſtanding ſo far removed from the ſun, that a cannon ball, moved with the velocity we have mentioned, would take up above ſix hundred thouſand years to paſs over the ſpace which lies betwixt thoſe ſtars and the ſun.

What is a man, a city, a kingdom, or the earth itſelf in its whole extent, in compariſon of theſe vaſt bodies, whoſe immenſe magnitude ſurpaſſes all imagination, but an imperceptible point? What is then the whole world itſelf in compariſon of him, who created it by a ſingle word, *He ſpake and they were made?* Have not the [h] prophets reaſon to tell us, that all the nations are in the ſight of God, but as a drop of water, and the earth which they inhabit as a grain of duſt? That the whole univerſe in compariſon of him is but as a point? and that his power and wiſdom conduct and direct all the motions of it with the ſame eaſe as a hand ſuſtains a light weight which it plays with, rather than is burthened. Phyſicks may very much contribute to confirm us in theſe noble ideas of the ſupreme Being.

We are inſtructed ſtill more, if poſſible, to admire his greatneſs by the ſmalleſt inſect. Though microſcopes were but the invention of the laſt age, they have been carried to ſo high a point of perfection, as to diſcover to us animals ſo exceedingly minute, that ſeveral thouſands of them would not equal a grain of ſand in bigneſs; and though ſo extremely ſmall, there

[h] Iſai. xl, 12, 13, 17.

are

are ſome of them, which contain others, that are no ſooner born, than they ſwim with a ſurprizing agility and ſwiftneſs.

The mind is loſt in the diviſibility of matter. The moſt common opinion is, that how far ſoever matter may be divided, or into how ſmall parts ſoever it be reduced, the particles of it may ſtill be divided *in infinitum.* We find diviſions in art and nature which go infinitely farther than can be imagined. Rohault aſſures us, that a cube of gold of five lines and one ſeventh of an inch, is divided by the workman into ſix hundred and fifty one thouſand five hundred and ninety parts, equal to the baſe. We know by the obſervation of naturaliſts, that a cubick inch of matter contains a million of viſible particles; that a cubick inch of water, rariſied in an æolipile, produces above thirteen thouſand three hundred millions of particles, and that more than thirteen thouſand particles of water may be fixed upon the point of a needle.

I cannot avoid tranſcribing here an admirable paſſage from the thoughts of M. Paſcal, which relates to the matter I am treating of. It is the twenty-ſecond chapter, intitled, *The general knowledge of man.*

The firſt thing which offers itſelf to man when he looks upon himſelf, is his body, that is, a certain portion of matter peculiar to him; but to comprehend what it is, he ought to compare it with all that is above him and below him, before he can come to the knowledge of its juſt bounds.

Let him not therefore ſtop at barely conſidering the objects that ſurround him, let him contemplate all nature in its full majeſty, let him view that ſhining luminary which is placed as an eternal lamp to give light to the world; let the earth appear to him as a point in compariſon of the vaſt circumference which that heavenly body deſcribes, and let him ſtand aſtoniſhed that this vaſt circumference itſelf is but a very ſmall point in compariſon of that, which the ſtars make that move in the firmament; and if our views

ſtop

ſtop there, let the imagination paſs further. It will ſooner ceaſe to conceive, than nature to furniſh matter for conception. All that we ſee in the world is but an imperceptible circumſtance in the ample boſom of nature. No idea can come up to the extent of its ſpaces. We may enlarge our conceptions, as much as we pleaſe, we ſhall bring forth nothing but atoms in compariſon with the reality of things. 'Tis an infinite ſphere, whoſe center lies in every part, and the circumference no where; and laſtly, it is one of the greateſt ſenſible characters of God's omnipotence, that our imagination is loſt in this thought.

Let man then return to himſelf, and conſider what he is in compariſon with what univerſally exiſts. Let him take a view of himſelf, as having ſtrayed into this out of the way diſtrict of nature, and from the judgment he will form of this ſmall dungeon, wherein he dwells, that is, this viſible world, let him learn to ſet a juſt value upon the earth, upon kingdoms, cities, and himſelf.

What then is man with reſpect to infinity? Who is able to comprehend it? But to preſent him with another kind of prodigy as ſurprizing as the former, let him enquire into the ſmalleſt things he knows; that a fly for inſtance, ſhould have parts in its little body, incomparably more little, legs with joints, veins in thoſe legs, blood in thoſe veins, humours in that blood, drops in thoſe humours, and vapours in thoſe drops; and ſtill proceeding in his diviſions, let him exhauſt the whole force of his conceptions, and let the laſt object he can think of be the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe. He will judge perhaps that this is the ſmalleſt portion of nature; but within this I will ſhew him a new abyſs, I will deſcribe to him not only the viſible univerſe, but farther all that he is capable of conceiving of the immenſity of nature, within the circumference of this imperceptible atom.

Let

[1]Let him take a view of the infinite number of worlds, whereof every one has its firmament, its planets, its earth, in the ſame proportion as our viſible world. In this earth, let him conſider the animals, and laſtly the mites, in which he will find again all that he diſcovered in the firſt; the ſame thing being ſtill conſtantly repeated in the reſt without end or repoſe. Let him loſe himſelf in theſe wonders, which are as ſurprizing by their minuteneſs, as others by their magnitude. For who can avoid ſtanding in admiration, that our body, which but a while ago was not to be perceived in the world, bu· was itſelf imperceptible in the boſom of the whole, ſhould now be a coloſſus, a world, or rather an univerſe, in compariſon of the laſt degree of ſmallneſs, to which we cannot attain?

Let h'm conſider himſelf in this manner, and he will be affrighted without doubt to ſee himſelf in a manner ſuſpended in the maſs which nature has given him, between the two extremes of infinity and nothing, from which he is equally removed. He will tremble at the view of theſe wonders, and in my opinion, his curioſity being changed into admiration, he will be rather diſpoſed to contemplate them in ſilence, than ſeek after them with preſumption.

For in ſhort, what is man conſidered in nature? a nothing in regard to infinity, and every thing in regard to nothing; a medium between nothing and every thing. He is alike removed from the two extremes, and his being is no leſs diſtant from the nothing, from whence he was taken, than from the infinity in which he is loſt. His underſtanding holds the ſame rank in the order of intelligible beings, as his body in the extent of nature, and all that it can do is to perceive ſome appearances in the middle of things, in an eternal deſpair of knowing either the beginning or the end.

[1] M. Paſcal means, that in this ſmall part, which one would imagine was the leaſt that could be, other parts may ſtill be conceived, bearing the ſame proportion to one another, as the parts of the viſible world do to each other.

All things have proceeded from nothing, and are carried up to infinity. Who can follow theſe amazing progreſſions? The author of theſe wonders comprehends them; which only he can do.

I have quoted this long paſſage from M. Paſcal, to ſhew how many ſolid reflections the ſtudy of nature may ſupply; and the caſe is the ſame with all that is taught in phyſicks.

Is it not a laudable curioſity to examine into the nature, cauſes and effects of motion, the weight of the air, the cauſe of earthquakes, lightning and thunders?

To know the origin of rivers and fountains, is not a matter of indifference. Several are of opinion, that they proceed from the ſea, which ſpreads itſelf far under ground, and then ariſes by interceptible channels to the ſurface of the earth. Others pretend, that the rain and ſnows are the ſole cauſe of rivers and fountains. The quantity of water and ſnow which falls in a year upon a certain determinate portion of the earth's ſurface, has been calculated for ſeveral years together, and at the ſame time the water that runs in a year, for example, in the Seine; and by this calculation it appears, that a third part of the water and ſnow which falls upon the earth, is more than ſufficient to ſupply the fountains and rivers.

All mankind are witneſſes of the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and it is a kind of reproach to be wholly ignorant of the cauſe of them. We know that the eclipſes of the ſun happen only becauſe the moon, which is an opaque body, being placed between the earth and ſun, intercepts the light which would come from the ſun to the earth; and that the eclipſe of the moon is occaſioned only by the earth's being placed directly between the moon and ſun, which hinders the ſun from illuminating the moon; and for this reaſon the eclipſes of the ſun never happen but when the moon is new; and the eclipſes of the moon at no time but at the full. But it is moſt ſurprizing, that they are foretold by aſtronomers with ſuch exactneſs,

that

that a miſtake of ſome minutes is looked upon by them as a conſiderable error.

Can any thing better deſerve our attention, than the flux and reflux of the ſea? Philoſophers have almoſt always thought, that the moon was the cauſe of it, by compreſſing the intermediate air, and thereby the waters correſponding to it; but the relation between the flux and reflux of the ſea, and the motion of that planet, was never ſo well underſtood as in the laſt century. The moon takes up twelve hours and twenty-four minutes in paſſing from the upper part of our meridian to the lower, and twenty-four hours and forty-eight minutes in returning to the upper part of our meridian again. There are alſo twelve hours and twenty-four minutes between the tide, which come in upon our coaſts every morning, and the tide of flood in the evening, and twenty-four hours and forty-eight minutes between the morning tide of one day, and the morning tide of the next. Several other agreements of this kind have been likewiſe obſerved, which are very ſurprizing when thoroughly conſidered.

There is nothing certainly more wonderful in nature, than this general and regular motion of all the waters in the world, which is more ſenſible in the ocean, but not abſolutely unknown in the Mediterranean, eſpecially in its gulphs. Is it poſſible not to diſcern the finger of God in the bounds he has ſet to the ſea, and in that order which he ſeems to have writ upon the ſtrand; "hitherto ſhalt thou go, and "no farther, and here ſhall thy proud waves be "ſtayed?" [k] *Uſque huc venies, & non procedes amplius, & hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos.*

Can we reaſonably ſuffer youth to be ignorant of ſuch wonders as theſe, or not inſtruct them in the other points treated of in phyſicks, and which uſually take up a good part of the ſecond year of philoſophy? When this ſtudy is neglected at this time, it is ſeldom afterwards applied to; but inſtead of neglecting it

[k] Job xxxviii. 11.

then,

then, youth ought to be prepared for it before hand, by being ſhewn it from their infancy, though in a manner ſuitable to their age; and this is what it remains for me to treat in the following article.

### *The natural philoſophy of children.*

So I call the ſtudy of nature, which ſcarce requires any thing beſides the eyes, and for this reaſon falls within the capacity of all ſorts of perſons, and even of children. It conſiſts in attending to the objects, with which nature preſents us, in conſidering them with care, and admiring their different beauties, but without ſearching out their ſecret cauſes, which properly belongs to the phyſicks of the learned.

I ſay, that even children are capable of it, for they have eyes and don't want curioſity; they aſk queſtions and love to be informed; and here we need only awaken and keep up in them the deſire of learning and knowing, which is natural to all mankind. Beſides, this ſtudy, if it is to be called a ſtudy, inſtead of being painful and tedious, is pleaſant and agreeable; it may be uſed as a recreation, and ſhould uſually be made a diverſion: It is inconceivable, how many things children are capable of, if all the opportunities of inſtructing them were laid hold of, with which they themſelves ſupply us.

A garden, a country, a palace, are all ſo many books which lie open to them; but they muſt have been taught and accuſtomed to read in them. Nothing is more common amongſt us, than the uſe of bread and linen. How ſeldom do children know how either of them are prepared, through how many operations and hands the corn and the flax muſt paſs, before they are turned into bread and linen? The ſame may be ſaid of cloth, which bears no reſemblance to the wool whereof it is formed, any more than paper to the rags, which are picked up in the ſtreets; and why ſhould not children be inſtructed in theſe wonderful

derful works of nature and art, which they every day make uſe of, without reflecting upon them?

'Tis very agreeable to read in Tully's treatiſe of old age, the elegant deſcription which he gives of the growth of corn. [1] It is admirable how the ſeed fermented and ſoftened by the warmth and moiſture of the earth, which kindly retains it in her boſom, ſends forth at firſt a verdant point, which fed and nouriſhed from the root, raiſes itſelf by degrees, and erects an hallow ſtalk, ſtrengthened with knots; how the ear incloſed in a kind of caſe, inſenſibly grows in it, and at laſt ſhoots forth in admirable form, fortified with bearded ſpikes, which ſerve it as a guard againſt the injuries of the ſmall birds. But to view this wonder itſelf with our own eyes, to follow it attentively through all its different changes, and purſue it till it comes to perfection, is quite another ſpectacle.

A careful maſter will find in this manner, wherewithal to enrich the mind of his diſciple with a great number of uſeful and agreeable ideas, and by a proper mixture of ſhort reflections, will at the ſame time take care to form his heart, and lead him by nature to religion. I ſhall give ſome examples, which will ſhew how uſeful this ſort of exerciſe may be, better than any thing I can ſay upon the ſubject. They are not mine, as will ſoon be perceived; I ſhall borrow moſt of them from an excellent manuſcript upon Geneſis, which is in the hands of ſeveral perſons. Theſe examples will ſerve to ſhew, in what manner we ought to ſtudy nature in every thing preſented to our eyes, and trace it backwards up to the Creator. I ſhall confine myſelf to the ſubject of plants and animals.

[1] Me quidem non fructus modo, ſed etiam ipſius terræ vis ac natura delectat. Quæ cum gremio mollito ac ſubacto ſemen ſparſum excepit . . . tepefactum vapore & compreſſu ſuo diffundit, & elicit herbeſcentem ex eo viriditatem: quæ mox fibris ſtirpium ſenſum adoleſcit, culmoque erecta geniculato, vaginis jam quaſi pubeſcens inclauditur, è quibus cum emerſerit, fundit frugem ſpici ordine ſtructam, & contra avium minorum morſus munitur vallo ariſtarum. De Senect. n. 51.

I. PLANTS,

## I. PLANTS, FLOWERS, FRUITS, *and* TREES.

[m] The firmament in which the ſun, the moon and ſtars ſhine with ſo much ſplendor, is the firſt preacher, which declared the glory of God, nor is any thing wanting beſides this book, written in characters of light, to render all mankind inexcuſable: But the divine Wiſdom is no leſs admirable in the ſmalleſt of its works, by which it has in a manner vouchſafed to become more acceſſible to us, and ſeems to invite us to a nearer conſideration of it, without fear of being dazzled by its radiance.

### PLANTS.

The moſt contemptible in appearance has wherewithal to aſtoniſh the ſublimeſt underſtandings, which notwithſtanding can ſee only the groſſer organs of them, without entering into all the ſecrets of their life, nouriſhment and increaſe. Not a leaf in them but is diſpoſed with attention; order and ſymmetry are viſible throughout the whole; and that with ſo prodigious a variety of fiſſures, ornaments and beauties, that no one perfectly reſembles the other.

What diſcoveries are made in the ſmalleſt ſeeds by the help of microſcopes? How great virtue and efficacy has God implanted in them by a ſingle word, by which he ſeems to have given plants a kind of immortality. [n] *Let the earth bring forth graſs, and herb yielding ſeed.*

Can any thing be more worthy our admiration, than the general colour wherewith it has pleaſed God to beautify every plant? Had all the fields been clothed in white or red, who could have born the ſplendor or rigour of their dreſs? If he had blackened them with darker colours, who could have been delighted with

[m] Pſal. xix. [n] Gen. i. 11.

ſo

ſo ſad and mournful a ſpectacle? An agreeable verdure holds the mean between theſe two extremes, and bears ſuch relation to the ſtructure of the eye, that it refreſhes inſtead of tiring it, and ſupports and nouriſhes it inſtead of exhauſting its force. But what at firſt we ſhould judge to be one colour, is an aſtoniſhing variety of ſhades. It is every where green, but no where the ſame. No plant is coloured like another, and this ſurprizing variety, which no art can imitate, is farther diverſified in every plant, which in its firſt ſhooting forth, in its growth and maturity, puts on a different verdure.

The ſame may be ſaid of the figure, ſmell, taſte, and uſes of plants, both for nouriſhment and medicine. I ſhall make here but one more reflection.

If God had not given hay when dried and kept for a long ſeaſon the power of feeding horſes, oxen and other animals of ſervice, how would the labourer or man of wealth have ſatisfied the hunger of animals of ſo vaſt a bulk, and which are only uſeful whilſt they have ſtrength? Should we undertake to feed a man in this manner, or becauſe the herb might be too dry for his chewing, ſhould we give him broths or infuſions of a great bundle of hay and ſtraw, would this be able to keep him alive? This very dry herb ſuffices likewiſe to make other animals give twice a day a quantity of milk, which may ſupply the place of all other food to a whole family. When we conſider this wonder, which paſſes every day before our eyes without any reflection, can we avoid admiring the wiſdom and goodneſs of God? *He cauſeth the graſs to grow for the cattle, and herb for the ſervice of man* [*].

## Flowers.

I tranſport myſelf from hence in thought to a field covered with flowers, or a garden well cultivated.

[*] Pſal. civ. 14.

How

How beautifully enamelled, what colours, what wealth, and at the ſame time how great an harmony and fragrance in their mixture, and in the ſhades with which they are blended? How fine a picture, and by how great a maſter? How laviſh in the profuſion of ornaments? From what ſource could the beauties we look upon ariſe? What is in itſelf the principle of ſo much ſplendor and ornament ſo richly diverſified?

But let us paſs from this general view to the conſideration of ſome flowers in particular, and let us cull by chance the firſt that ſhall fall in our way, without putting ourſelves to the trouble of making a choice.

It no ſooner opens, but it has all its freſhneſs and luſtre. Has art invented ſuch lively, and at the ſame time ſuch delicate hues? Is any ſtuff ſo fine, or wove with ſuch exquiſite uniformity? [p] Is the purple of Solomon equal to the leaves in my hand? How coarſe in compariſon? How rough? How groſs in the workmanſhip, and how different in the colour?

But though this flower were leſs beautiful in every part than it is, can we imagine a more agreeable ſymmetry in the whole, a more regular diſpoſition in its leaves, or a greater exactneſs in its proportions?

One would believe, if we were only to examine the wiſdom of God, and if I may be allowed the expreſſion, his complacency in the compoſition of ſo perfect a flower, that it was to laſt for ever; but before evening it ſhall fade, and the next day be withered by the ſun, and the day after periſh. What ſhould we then think of the immenſe ſource of beauties, which ſo plentifully beſtows them upon an herb that is to laſt but a few hours? What will he do when he ſhall undertake to adorn the mind, he who diffuſes ſuch ſplendor upon the graſs deſigned for the food of animals? And how great is the blindneſs of the world, who reckon upon beauty, youth, authority and human glory as ſolid benefits, without remembering that they are

[p] Mat. vi. 29.

as the tranſient bloſſom, which to morrow ſhall be no more? ¶ *All fleſh is graſs, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field.*

## Fruits.

Hitherto we have conſidered the earth as a field or a garden of herbs; let us now conſider it as a rich orchard abounding with all kinds of fruit, which ſucceed one another according to the ſeaſons.

I conſider one of theſe trees extending its branches, bowing down to the earth, under the weight of excellent fruit, whoſe colour and ſmell invite the taſte, and in ſurprizing plenty. This tree by the pomp it diſplays before my eyes, ſeems to cry out, Learn of me how great the goodneſs and magnificence of God is, who has formed me for you. It is neither for him nor for me, that I thus abound in riches. He ſtands in need of nothing, and I can make no uſe of what is given me. Bleſs him and unload me; give thanks to him; and as he has made me the miniſter of your entertainment, do you become the miniſter of my gratitude.

Such invitations as theſe I ſeem to hear from every quarter; and as I advance, I ſtill diſcover new ſubjects of praiſe and admiration. Here the fruit lies concealed within; and there the kernel is covered with a delicate pulp, all ſhining without in the moſt lively colours. This fruit ariſes from a flower, as almoſt all fruits do; but that other, which is ſo delicious, is preceded by no flower, but ſprings out of the very rind of the fig-tree. The one begins the ſummer, and the other ends it. If one is not ſpeedily gathered it falls and withers; and if time is not allowed to the other, it will never come to maturity. The one keeps long, and the other preſently corrupts; one refreſhes, and another ſtrengthens; but all I ſee raiſes in me a ſpirit

¶ Iſa. xl. 6.

of

er and tranſport, and I cannot avoid crying
h the Prophet, [r] *The eyes of all wait upon*
*Lord, and thou giveſt them their meat in due*
*thou openeſt thy hand, and filleſt all things living*
*ntcouſneſs.*

## Trees.

nave already treated of theſe, when we ſpoke
; but they deſerve ſome particular reflections.
ngſt the fruitful trees there are ſome which
eir fruits in two ſeaſons of the year, and others
ether both different ſeaſons and years too, by
at once both flowers and green and ripe fruit,
r to ſhew the unbounded power of the Crea-
ıo, by diverſifying the laws of nature, lets us
: he is the maſter of them, and can alike diſ-
all ſeaſons, and all things at his pleaſure.
ſerve that they are the ſhrub trees, or thoſe of
erate height, which bear the moſt exquiſite
The higher they riſe the poorer they appear,
: leſs agreeable are their fruits. I underſtand
ſon, and the feeble ſtem of the vine, whoſe
I admire, tells me in its language, that the
onderful fruits are often neareſt the earth.
other trees which bear only leaves, or fruits
e bitter and very ſmall, are notwithſtanding
ſeful; and Providence has made up the defect
ı a manner, that upon ſome occaſions the bar-
: to be preferred to the more fruitful, which
dly of any uſe either for building or naviga-
ɔr other indiſpenſible wants.
e had not ſeen ſuch high and large trees as are
ain foreſts, we could not believe that the drops
which fall from heaven were capable of ſup-
them with nouriſhment. For not only a very
ful ſap is neceſſary to them, but one that abounds

[r] Pſal. cxliv. 15, 16.

in ſpirits and ſalts of every kind, to give the root, the trunk and branches, that force and vigour which we admire in them. It is very remarkable, that the more theſe trees are neglected, the more beautiful they grow; and that were men to apply themſelves to cultivate them like the ſmall trees of their gardens, they would only do them a prejudice. Thou hereby, O Lord, giveſt a proof, that it is thou only that haſt formed them, and teacheſt man that his cares and induſtry are uſeleſs to thee; and that if thou requireſt them to be uſed about certain little trees, it is only to employ him, and put him in mind of his own weakneſs, by having only weak things like himſelf committed to his care.

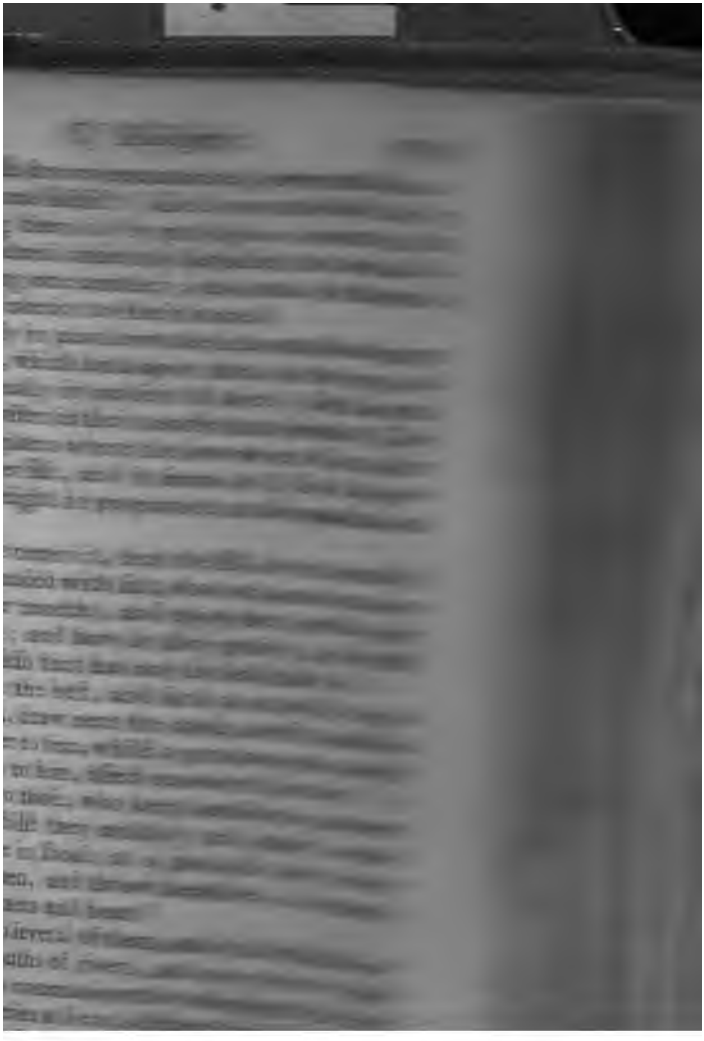
Laſtly, amongſt the trees I obſerve ſome which always preſerve their verdure, and in them I imagine I diſcern a figure of immortality, as the others, which are ſtripped in winter to be clothed again in the ſpring, ſeem to preſent me with an image of the reſurrection.

## II. Animals.

In the deſcription of animals I ſhall obſerve the order which God followed in their creation.

### Fish.

What an abundance of fiſh do the waters produce of every ſize? When I view theſe animals, I ſeem to diſcern nothing beſide a head and a tail. They have neither feet nor arms. Their very head cannot freely be moved; and were I to conſider only their figure, I ſhould think them deprived of all that was neceſſary for the preſervation of their life; but with theſe few outward organs they are more nimble, dextrous and artificial, than if they had ſeveral hands and feet; and the uſe they make of their tail and fins carries them along like arrows, and ſeems to make them fly.



regular times to take in freſh water, and retain therein, by ſpeedily joining them together, the imprudent prey which falls into that ſnare.

## Birds.

We ſee a ſurprizing imitation of reaſon in ſeveral animals, but it no where appears in a more ſenſible manner than in the induſtry of birds in building their neſts.

In the firſt place, what maſter has taught them that they have need of them? Who has taken care to inform them to prepare them in time, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be prevented by neceſſity? Who has told how they ſhould build them? What mathematician has given them their figure? What architect has taught them to chuſe a firm place, and to build upon a ſolid foundation? What tender mother has adviſed them to cover the bottom with a ſoft and delicate ſubſtance, ſuch as down and cotton? And when theſe matters fail, who has ſuggeſted to them that ingenious charity, which leads them to pluck off ſo many feathers from their own breaſts with their beaks, as is requiſite for the preparing a convenient cradle for their young?

In the ſecond place, what wiſdom has pointed out to every diſtinct kind a peculiar manner of building their neſts, ſo as to obſerve the ſame precautions, though in a thouſand different ways? Who has commanded the ſwallow, the moſt ſubtle of birds, to draw near to man and make choice of his houſe for the building of his neſt, within his view, without fear of his knowing it, and ſeeming rather to invite him to a conſideration of his labour? Neither does he build like other birds with little bits of ſticks and ſtubble, but employs cement and mortar, and in ſo ſolid a manner, that it requires ſome pains to demoliſh its work; and yet in all this it makes uſe of no other inſtrument but its beak. Reduce, if it is poſſible, the ableſt architect

itect to the ſmall bulk of this ſwallow, l---e him l his knowledge and only a beak, and ſee if he will ive the ſame ſkill and the like ſucceſs.

Thirdly, Who has made all the birds comprehend at they muſt hatch their eggs by ſitting upon them? hat this neceſſity was indiſpenſible? That the fa-er and mother could not leave them at the ſame me, and that if one went abroad to ſeek for food, e other muſt wait till it returns? Who has fixed the calendar the expreſs number of days this pain-l diligence is to laſt? Who has advertiſed them to ſift the young, that are already formed, in coming it of the egg, by firſt breaking the ſhell? And ho has ſo exactly inſtructed them in the very mo-ent before which they never come?

Laſtly, who has given leſſons to all the birds upon e care they ought take of their young, till ſuch me as the are grown up, and in a condition to ovide for themſelves? Who has made them diſ-nguiſh ſuch things as agree well with one ſpecies, it are prejudicial to another? And amongſt ſuch as e proper to the parents, and unfit for the young, ho has made them diſtinguiſh ſuch as are ſalu-ry? We know the tenderneſs of mothers, and the refulneſs of nurſes amongſt mankind, but I queſ-on whether it ever came up to what we ſee in theſe ttle creatures.

Who has taught ſeveral among the birds that mar-llous induſtry of retaining food or water in their illet, without ſwallowing either the one or the her, and preſerving them for their young, to whom iis firſt preparation ſerves inſtead of milk?

Is it for the birds, O Lord, that thou haſt joined to-ether ſo many miracles, which they have no know-dge of? Is it for men, who give no attention to them? it for the curious, who are ſatisfied with admiring iem, without raiſing their thoughts to thee? Or is it ot rather viſible, that thy deſign has been to call us to , ſelf by ſuch a ſpectacle; to make us ſenſible of thy

providence and infinite wiſdom; and to fill us with confidence in thy bounty, who watcheſt with ſo much care and tenderneſs over the birds, * though two of them are ſold but for a farthing?

But let us ſet bounds to our obſervations upon the induſtry of birds, for the ſubject is infinite, and hearken for a moment to the concert of their muſick, the firſt praiſe which God received from nature, and the firſt ſong of thankſgiving which was offered to him before man was formed. All their ſounds are different, but all harmonious, and all together compoſe a choir which men have but ſorrily imitated. One voice however, more ſtrong and melodious, is diſtinguiſhed among the reſt, and I find upon enquiry from whence it comes, that it is a very ſmall bird, which is the organ of it. This leads me to conſider all the reſt of the ſinging tribe, and they alſo are all ſmall; the great ones being either wholly ignorant of muſick, or having a diſagreeable voice. Thus I every where find, that what ſeems weak and ſmall has the beſt deſtination, and the moſt gratitude.

Some of theſe little birds are extremely beautiful, nor can any thing be more rich or variegated than their feathers; but it muſt be owned, that all ornament muſt give place to the finery of the peacock, upon which God has plentifully beſtowed all the riches which ſet off the reſt, and laviſhed upon it with gold and azure all the ſhades of every other colour. This bird ſeems ſenſible of its advantage, and looks as if deſigned to diſplay all its beauties to our eyes, when it expands that ſplendid circumference which ſets them all to view.

But this moſt pompous bird of all has a moſt diſagreeable cry, and is a proof, that with a very ſhining outſide there may be but a ſorry ſubſtance within, little gratitude and a great deal of vanity.

In examining the feathers of the reſt, I find one thing very ſingular in thoſe of the ſwans and other

* Matt. x. 29.

river

river fowl, for they are proof againſt the water, and continue always dry, and yet our eyes do not diſcover either the artifice or difference of them.

I look upon the feet of the ſame birds, and obſerve webs there, which diſtinctly mark their deſtination. But I am much aſtoniſhed to ſee theſe birds ſo ſure, that they run no hazard by throwing themſelves into the water; whereas others, to whom God has not given the like feathers or feet, are never ſo raſh as to expoſe themſelves to it. Who has told the former that they run no danger, and who keeps back the others from following their example? It is not unuſual to ſet duck eggs under a hen, which in this caſe is deceived by her affection, and takes a foreign brood for her natural offspring, that run to the water as ſoon as they come out of the ſhell, nor can their pretended mother prevent them by her repeated calls. She ſtands upon the brink in aſtoniſhment at their raſhneſs, and ſtill more at the ſucceſs of it. She finds herſelf violently tempted to follow them; and warmly expreſſes her impatience, but nothing is capable of carrying her to an indiſcretion which God has prohibited. The ſpectators are ſurprized at it, more or leſs in proportion to their underſtanding; for it is from want of light and underſtanding, that ſuch prodigies excite ſo little admiration. But it is rare that the ſpectators learn from this example, that it is neceſſary to be deſtined by providence to diſcharge the functions of a dangerous ſtate, and to receive from it all that is requiſite for our ſecurity; and that it is a fatal raſhneſs for others to venture upon it, who have neither the ſame vocation nor the ſame talents.

I ſhould never have done, ſhould I undertake to conſider many miracles of a like nature with thoſe I have here related. I ſhall content myſelf with one obſervation more, which takes in ſeveral others, and relates to birds of paſſage.

They have all their allotted times, which they do not exceed; but this time is not the ſame for every

ſpecies. Some wait for the winter, others the ſpring; ſome the ſummer, and others the autumn. There is amongſt every ſort a publick and general rule of government, which guides and retains every ſingle bird in its duty. Before the general edict, there is none thinks of departing. After its publication, there is no one tarries behind. A kind of council fixes the day, and grants a certain time to prepare for it, after which they all take their flight; and ſo exact is their diſcipline, that the next day there is not a ſtraggler or deſerter to be found. Many people know no other bird but the ſwallow, that acts thus, but it is certain that many other ſpecies do the ſame. Now I aſk, tho' we had but the ſingle inſtance of the ſwallow, what news have they received from the countries whither they go in great companies, to be aſſured that they ſhall find all things there prepared for their reception? I aſk, why they do not keep like other birds to the country where they have brought up their young, which have been ſo kindly treated in it? By what diſpoſition to travel does this new brood, which knows no other than its native country, conſpire all at once to quit it? In what language is the ordinance publiſhed, which forbids all, both old and new ſubjects of the republick, to tarry beyond a certain day? And laſtly, by what ſigns do the principal magiſtrates know, that they ſhould run an extreme hazard in expoſing themſelves to be prevented by a rigorous ſeaſon? What other anſwer can be given to theſe queſtions than that of the prophet, [t] *O Lord, how manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all?*

## Land Animals.

I am obliged to abridge this ſubject, to put an end to this ſmall treatiſe, which has inſenſibly grown very long.

The ſingle inſtance of the dog, ſhews us how capable God is of giving matter all the outward appear-

[t] Pſal. civ. 24.

ances

ances of underſtanding, fidelity, friendſhip and gratitude, without the principle of them. As this example is known to all the world, I ſhall not dwell upon it.

The actions of the bee are no leſs admirable. Inſtead of contenting itſelf with the ſucking the honey, which is better preſerved in the cups of flowers than any where elſe, and feeding upon it day by day, it lays up a proviſion for the whole year, and principally for the winter. It loads the little hooks which adorn its legs with all the wax and gum that it can carry, and in ſucking up the honey with the trunk fixed at the extremity of its head, it avoids the daubing of its wings, of which it ſtands in need to fly from place to place, and to carry it home.

If care is not taken to prepare a hive for it, it makes one itſelf in the hollow of ſome tree or rock; there its firſt care is to form the comb, which it compoſes of ſmall equal cells, that they may be the better joined, and leave no interval or ſpace between. Then it pours out the honey pure and unmixt into theſe ſmall reſervoirs, and how plentifully ſoever its magazines are filled, it takes no reſt till the time of labour and harveſt is over. In this republick there is no idleneſs, no avarice or ſelf-love, but all is in common. What is neceſſary is granted to all, a ſuperfluity to none, and it is for the publick good that their ſubſtance is preſerved. New colonies, which would be a burthen to the ſtate, are ſent abroad. They know how to work, and are obliged to do ſo by being diſmiſſed.

Amongſt the beſt governed nations have we the copy of ſo perfect a model? Can ſuch ſurprizing wiſdom be attributed to chance or a cauſe without a will? Or can we think theſe wonders explained by ſaying, that inſtinct, nature, and I know not what, is the principle from whence they proceed? And is it not under theſe images, on one ſide ſo perfect, and on the other ſo remote from matter, that God has taken

a pleaſure to manifeſt what he is, and to teach man what he ſhould be?

Let us paſs from the bee to the ant, which reſembles it in many reſpects, except that a bee enriches man, and the ant ſtrives all he can to impoveriſh him by ſtealing from him.

This little animal is informed, that the winter is long, and that the ripe corn is not a great while expoſed in the field. Thus the ant never ſleeps during harveſt. It draws along with the little inſtruments, which are fixed to its head, grains of corn which are thrice as heavy as itſelf, and goes backward with them as well as it can. Sometimes it finds a friend by the way, which lends its aſſiſtance, but never waits for it.

The repoſitory, where all is publick, and no one thinks of making a ſeparate proviſion for itſelf, this repoſitory is made up of ſeveral chambers, which communicate with each other by galleries, and which are all dug ſo deep, that neither the winter rains or ſnows can penetrate ſo far. The ſubterraneous caverns of citadels are inventions by far more modern and leſs perfect, and thoſe who have endeavoured to deſtroy the habitations of ſuch ants, as have had leiſure to perfect them, have ſcarce ever ſucceeded: The branches of them are extended ſo far that they do not feel all the injury that is offered them at firſt.

When their granaries are full, and the winter comes on, they begin to ſecure the grain, by [a] biting off the two ends of it, and thereby hindering it from growing. Thus their firſt food is no other than a care for futurity, and what they are determined to rather by prudence than neceſſity.

Hence we ſee what an incomprehenſible fund of induſtry God has placed in this little animal. Thus has

[a] Pliny the naturaliſt makes the ſame obſervation upon the induſtry of the ants, that they lay up corn for the winter, and prevent it from growing by biting off the end. Lib. xi. c 30. Yet this fact is now queſtioned by ſome perſons, who abſolutely deny, that the ants lay up any corn.

he

he given it a kind of prophetick underſtanding, to oblige us to recur to him, to whom alone it belongs to work ſuch prodigies, who cannot, in my opinion, more ſenſibly ſhew us that he is the ſource of wiſdom, than by joining together ſo many circumſtances of it in ſo ſmall a part of matter, which has no more than the appearance of it.

Can we ſufficiently admire the induſtry of certain animals, who ſpin with ſuch art and delicacy, that all appears to be the effect of thought and a mathematical ſcheme? Who has taught the ſpider, an animal in other reſpects ſo contemptible, to form ſuch fine threads, ſo equal and ſo artfully ſuſpended? Who has taught it to begin with fixing them to certain points, to join them all in one common center, to draw them firſt in a right line, and then to ſtrengthen them by circles exactly parallel? Who has told it, that theſe threads ſhould be a ſnare to catch other animals that have wings, and that it could not come at them but by ſtratagem? Who has appointed him his place in the center, where all the lines meet, and where it is neceſſarily informed by the lighteſt motion, that ſome prey is fallen into his nets? Laſtly, who has told him, that his firſt care then ſhould be to embarraſs the wings of that imprudent prey, by the new threads, for fear it ſhould ſtill have left ſome liberty of diſengaging and defending itſelf.

All the world is a witneſs of the labours of the ſilk-worm. But have the moſt ſkilful artiſts hitherto been able to imitate it? Have they found out the ſecret of drawing ſo fine a thread, ſo ſtrong, ſo even, ſo bright and uniform? Have they any materials of greater value than this thread for making the richeſt ſtuffs? Do they know how this worm converts the juice of the leaf into golden threads? Can they give a reaſon, why a liquid matter, before it has taken the air, ſhould grow ſtrong, and lengthen itſelf *in infinitum*, as ſoon as it comes into it? Can any of them explain, how this worm is taught to form itſelf a retreat under the

numberleſs turnings and windings of ſilk, which have flowed from itſelf, and how in this rich grave it finds a kind of reſurrection, which gives it the wings its firſt birth had refuſed it?

Every crawling worm becomes a kind of fly, gnat, or butterfly; and firſt every fly has crawled in its original, and been a kind of worm, caterpillar or inſect, before it had wings; and the middle ſtate between theſe two extremes of elevation and meanneſs is the time, when the animal becomes a cod or bean, which is done a great number of ways, but always in a manner uniform to every ſpecies.

I ſhall conclude this treatiſe with ſome obſervations upon a ſmall animal, which deſerves our utmoſt admiration. Its name is *formicalio*. It is of an ugly figure, and looks, as if it was but half finiſhed; it is of a cruel diſpoſition, for it lives only upon the blood of its prey, and its ſole occupation is to lay traps for it. Its artifice is beſt ſeen by having ſuch an animal in one's cloſet.

It is put into an earthen veſſel full of very fine ſand, in which it preſently hides itſelf. When it is there, it forms in the ſand the ſhape of a cone reverſed, with an exact and geometrical proportion, and takes up its reſidence in the point of the cone, which is the center of it, but ſtill keeping itſelf covered. If any ant, or fly, with its wings taken off, is placed at the entrance of the cone, this little animal, which one would not judge capable of the leaſt effort, throws ſand forcibly with its head upon the prey it has got an intelligence of, in order to ſtun it and drag it down to the bottom, where it lies concealed. Then he comes out from the place of his retreat, and after he has quenched his thirſt, he throws away the carcaſe, which might render his cruelty ſuſpected.

If one would have the pleaſure of ſeeing him labour a ſecond time, it is but filling up the cone by ſtirring the veſſel, and 'tis ſurprizing to ſee with what diligence the little animal makes a new figure as large and regular as the former.

How

ow much reaſoning is here required, if this work-ſhip was founded upon reaſoning? Can a mathe-ician think more curiouſly, and be better acquaint-vith the nature of the cone, of the ſand, of the ions and the conveyance of their ſound from the ter to every part of the circumference? It is cer-that this beaſt muſt reaſon, or ſome one for it. the wonder is not, either that it ſhould reaſon, a foreign principle reaſon for it, but that this ıciple ſhould cauſe all this to be executed by or-s, which move of themſelves, and ſeem to act only an inward principle.

muſt not omit that the *formicalio*, of which I e juſt ſpoken, is transformed into a great and utiful fly from the little and ugly thing it was at , and is no longer of the ſame ſanguine humour, en it has caſt off its firſt ſkin.

*The uſefulneſs of theſe phyſical obſervations.*

:t is not neceſſary for me to obſerve how capable ſe phyſical obſervations, and a great many others the like nature, are to adorn and enrich the mind a young man; to make him attentive to the effects nature, which are conſtantly before our eyes, and :ſent themſelves to us almoſt every moment with-t our reflecting upon them; to teach him a thou-ıd curious points relating to ſciences, arts and ɔfeſſions, ſuch as chemiſtry, anatomy, botany, inting, navigation, &c. To give him a taſte for rdening, planting, and walking, which is by no :ans a matter of indifference; to enable him to ıke an agreeable figure in converſation; and not to under a neceſſity e.ther of holding his tongue, or lking only of trifles.

I call this ſcience the phyſicks of children, becauſe reality we may begin to teach it to them from their fancy, but ſtill with a view to their weakneſs, and ring nothing before them beyond their capacity, ei-er as to facts, or to the reflections that are joined to them.

them. 'Tis incredible how this ſmall exerciſe, regularly continued from the age of ſix or ſeven years, to that of twelve or fifteen, but ſtill under the name and notion of a diverſion and not a ſtudy, would fill the minds of the boys with uſeful and agreeable knowledge, and prepare them for that ſtudy of phyſicks, which is proper only to the learned.

But ſome one will ſay, where ſhall we find maſters capable of giving a child theſe inſtructions, which the beſt amongſt them are often very ignorant of, and which acquire a large extent of knowledge? The matter is not ſo difficult as they may be apt to imagine. [w] Tully ſaid jeſtingly in an oration, wherein he undertook to leſſen the ſtudy of the law, that if they vexed him, as full of buſineſs as he was, he would become a lawyer in three days. I might almoſt ſay the ſame thing, not of the phyſicks of the learned, which is a very profound ſcience, but of that which I am here ſpeaking of. It requires no more than to run over the books in which theſe kind of obſervations are to be found, ſuch as for inſtance are the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, where we meet with abundance of very curious remarks upon this ſubject. I have ſeen boys, who have been publickly examined in the fourth book of Virgil's Georgicks, make a wonderful uſe of what is ſaid in thoſe memoirs, upon the little but admirable republick of the bees. A maſter that is curious and ſtudious, will apply to perſons of ſkill, to know what books he ſhould conſult upon each ſubject. Theſe books he either borrows or ſeeks for in the publick libraries; he reads them over, and makes extracts from them, and thereby enables himſelf to teach his ſcholars many things that are curious; and he has ſeven or eight years time to make this ſmall collection. To ſucceed in it there is nothing wanting but inclination.

[w] Itaque, ſi mihi, homini vehementer occupato, ſtomachum moveritis, triduo me juriſconſultum eſſe profitebor. Pro Muren. n. 23.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE the FOURTH.

### *Philoſophy ſerves to inſpire a great reſpect for religion.*

ALL that I have hitherto ſaid of phyſicks, very clearly ſhews, that one of the great effects, and the moſt eſſential fruit of philoſophy, is to raiſe man to the knowledge of the greatneſs, power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of God, to render him attentive to his providence, to teach him to aſcend up to him by the conſideration of the wonderful works of nature, to make him ſenſible of his benefits, and point out to him ſubjects of praiſe and thankſgiving.

We learn from God himſelf, both in the Old and New Teſtament, that this is the proper uſe we ought to make of the creatures, who all teach us our duty. [x] He ſends the ſluggard in the ſcriptures to the ant, to learn induſtry. [y] The ungrateful to the ox and aſs, who make a grateful return for their maſter's care: [z] The inconſiderate to the ſtork and the ſwallow, who know their appointed times. [a] Jeſus Chriſt lays down the conſideration of the lilies of the valley, and the birds of the air, as an inſtruction to all mankind, abſolutely to rely upon the cares of a providence, which is at the ſame time watchful over all, abundant in goodneſs and almighty. We ſhould therefore not anſwer the intentions of Divine Wiſdom, and ſhould fail in the moſt eſſential part of a maſter's duty, if we did not obſerve to youth the footſteps of the Deity in all his creatures, as he has been pleaſed to draw himſelf, and point out our duty in them.

In the account the ſcripture gives us of the creation of the world, it is often ſaid [b] that God approved, and

[x] Prov. vi. 6.
[y] Iſa. i. 3.
[z] Jerem. viii. 7.
[a] Mat. vi. 26, 30.

[b] And God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

if

if I may venture to ſay it, admired his own works, to teach us how great an admiration they ought to raiſe in us, how much we ought to ſtudy them, and what reflections they deſerve; and to reproach us at the ſame time with our ſtupidity in not employing our thoughts about them, and our ingratitude in not returning thanks for them, whilſt we continue ignorant and weak, though we live in the midſt of the moſt aſtoniſhing prodigies, and are ourſelves one of the moſt incomprehenſible.

It is not natural philoſophy alone, which aſſiſts us in obtaining the knowledge of God; the little I have ſaid upon the principles of morality, drawn from Paganiſm itſelf, is ſufficient to ſhew us how proper that branch of philoſophy is to inſpire us with an high veneration for religion.

Can any thing be more likely to imprint it deeply in the minds of youth, and to lay ſuch ſolid foundations as are capable of withſtanding the torrent of incredulity and libertiniſm, than the famous queſtions in metaphyſicks, concerning the exiſtence of a God, and the immortality of the ſoul?

But the greateſt and moſt important ſervice that philoſophy can do man, is to diſpoſe him to receive whatever is taught by Divine Revelation with docility and reſpect. It particularly takes care to make him comprehend, that every thing muſt be ſilent before God, reaſon as well as ſenſe, as nothing is more reaſonable than to give ear to him when he ſpeaks, [a] *Ipſe, de ſe, Deo credendum eſt*; that it muſt not therefore ſeem ſtrange to reaſon, that it is made to ſubmit to authority in ſuch ſciences, as treating of ſubjects ſuperior to reaſon, muſt be guided by another light, which can be only that of divine authority; that as in the very order of nature there are a thouſand things which human underſtanding cannot comprehend, though beheld with human eyes, there is ſtill greater reaſon to

[a] Hilar. lib. iv. de Trinit.

reſpect

the veils, which it has pleaſed God to throw
e myſteries of religion; that laſtly, God would
› be what he is, if he was not incomprehenſi-
d that his wonderful works would no longer
that name, if human underſtanding could at-
them.

ſe are the leſſons which philoſophy gives to
not reſtleſs, bold and vain philoſophy, ſuch as
aul adviſes the faithful to beware of, and
by explaining what it believes, often annihi-
hat it ought to believe; but a wiſe and ſolid
phy, founded upon the actual principles and
lights of natural reaſon.

are left any man ſpoil you philoſophy and vain deceit, tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt, Col. ii. 8.

—Rembrandt was dining one day with a friend, when it was discovered that there was no mustard, and the servant was sent for some. Rembrandt, having little confidence in the servant's effort to make haste, laid a wager that he would etch the view from the dining-room window before the servant returned. He took up a plate, tried his etching-point upon it, sketched the view and won his bet. The engraving is a very rare one, and a single copy of it recently sold for nearly a hundred dollars.

BOOK

# BOOK the SIXTH.

## *Of the Government of the Claſſes and Colleges.*

### The INTRODUCTION.

THIS introduction ſhall contain two articles. In the firſt I ſhall ſhew the importance of the good education of youth; in the ſecond I ſhall enquire whether publick inſtruction is preferable to private.

### ARTICLE the FIRST.

### *The importance of the good education of youth.*

THE education of youth has been always conſidered by the greateſt philoſophers, and the moſt famous lawgivers, as the moſt certain ſource of the tranquillity and happineſs both of private families, and of ſtates and empires. For what elſe, in ſhort, is a republick or kingdom, but a large body, whoſe health and ſtrength depend upon thoſe of private families, which are the members and parts of it, and none of which can fail in the diſcharge of their function, but the whole body muſt be ſenſible of it? Now what is it but good education which enables all the citizens, and great men, and Princes above the reſt, to perform their different functions in a deſerving manner? Is it not evident that youth are as the nurſery of the ſtate? That it is renewed and perpetuated by them? That from among them all the fathers of families, all magiſtrates and miniſters, in a word, all perſons placed in

in áuthority and power are taken? And is it not certain, that the good education of thoſe, who are one day to fill thoſe places, will have an influence over the whole body of the ſtate, and become, in a manner, the ſpirit and general character of the whole nation?

The laws indeed are the foundation of empires, and by preſerving a regularity and good order in them, maintain them in peace and tranquillity. But whence have the laws themſelves that force and vigour, but from good education, which trains up men in ſubjection to them, without which they are but a feeble barrier againſt the paſſions of mankind?

• *Quid legis ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt?*

[f] Plutarch makes a judicious reflection on this ſubject, which well deſerves to be conſidered: 'Tis in ſpeaking of Lycurgus. "This wiſe lawgiver, [g] ſays "he, did not think it convenient to ſet down his "laws in writing, as judging that the ſtrongeſt and "moſt effectual means of making cities happy and "people virtuous, was the impreſſion that was made "in the manners of the citizens, and rendered fami-"liar and eaſy to them by cuſtom and habit. For "the principles which education has fixed in their "minds, continue firm and unſhaken, as being found-"ed upon an inward conviction, and even upon the "will, which is always a much ſtronger and more "laſting tie than that of force; inſomuch that this "education becomes the rule of youth, and ſerves "them inſtead of a lawgiver."

Here, in my opinion, we have the juſteſt notion that can be given of the difference there is between the laws and education.

The law, when it ſtands alone, is a ſevere and imperious miſtreſs, ἀνάγκη, which lays a man under re-

• Horat. Od. xxv. lib. ii.

[f] In vit. Lycurg.

[g] Ὄφελος δὲ δὴν τῶν φαλιμωτάτων νόμων, καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ παιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. Arist. lib. v. Polit. cap. ix.

ſtraint

ſtraint in what he holds moſt dear, and whereof he is moſt jealous; I mean his liberty, which torments and contradicts him in every thing, is [h] deaf to his remonſtrances and deſires, never ſubmits to any relaxation, [i] ſpeaks always in a threatening tone, and preſents him only with correction. Thus it is not ſurprizing that men ſhould ſhake off this yoke, as ſoon as ever they can with impunity, and that giving ear no longer to its offenſive directions, they ſhould abandon themſelves to their natural inclinations, which the law had only reſtrained, without changing or deſtroying them.

But the caſe is far otherwiſe with education. Its government is gentle and engaging, an enemy to violence and conſtraint, which delights to act only by motives of perſuaſion, which endeavours to make its inſtructions reliſhed, by ſpeaking always with reaſon and truth, and tends only to make virtue more eaſy, by making it more amiable. Its lectures, which begin almoſt as ſoon as a child is born, grow up and gather ſtrength with it, in time take deep root, ſoon paſs from the memory and underſtanding to the heart, are daily imprinted in his manners by practice and habit, become a ſecond nature in him, which it is ſcarce poſſible to change, and do the office of a preſent legiſlator all the reſt of his life, putting him in mind of his duty upon every occaſion, and engaging him to the practice of it. Ἡ παίδευσις νομοθέτα διάθεσιν ἀπεργάζεται περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

We muſt not wonder, after this, that the ancients have recommended the education of youth with ſo much care, and looked upon it as the ſureſt means of making an empire permanent and flouriſhing. [k] It was a capital maxim with them, that children are more the property of the republick than of their pa-

[h] Leges, rem ſurdam, inexorabilem eſſe . . . . . nihil laxamenti, nec veniæ habere, ſi modum exceſſeris. Liv. lib. ii. n. 3.

[i] Pœna metuique aberant, nec verba minantia fixo ære legebantur. —Ovid. lib. ii. Metam. *This a beautiful definition of the laws* Verba minantia.

[k] Ariſt. Pol. lib. viii. c. i.

rents;

rents; and that thus their education ſhould not be left to their fancies, but be intruſted to the care of the republick; that for this reaſon children ought to be brought up, not in private, and in their father's houſes, but in publick, by common maſters, and under the ſame diſcipline; that they may be early inſpired with a love for their country, reſpect for its laws, and a taſte for the principles and maxims of the ſtate wherein they are to live. For every kind of government has its peculiar genius. The ſpirit and character of a republick is very different from that of a monarchy. Now this ſpirit and character is only to be imbibed by education.

It is in conſequence of the principles I have laid down, that Lycurgus, Plato, Ariſtotle, and in a word, all that have left us any rules of government, have declared that the principal and moſt eſſential duty of a magiſtrate, a miniſter, a lawgiver and a Prince, is to watch over the good education, firſt of their own children, who often ſucceed to their functions, and then of the citizens in general, who form the body of the republick; and they obſerve, that all the misfortunes of ſtates ariſe only from the negligence of this two-fold duty.

[1] Plato quotes an illuſtrious example of it in the perſon of the famous Cyrus, the moſt accompliſhed Prince we read of in ancient hiſtory. He wanted none of the talents which were requiſite to make a great man, excepting that we are here ſpeaking of. Being wholly taken up with his conqueſts, he intruſted the education of his children with the [m] women. Theſe young Princes were therefore brought up, not after the rough and ſevere diſcipline of the Perſians, which had ſo well ſucceeded in Cyrus their father, but after the manner of the Medes; that is, in luxury, ſoftneſs and pleaſures. No body ventured to contradict them in any thing. Their ears were open only to praiſe and flat-

1 Plat. lib. iii. de leg.

m The wife of Cyrus was daughter to the King of Media.

tery;

tery; every thing bent their knee and bowed down before them. And it was thought eſſential to their grandeur, to ſet an infinite diſtance between them and the reſt of mankind, as if they had been of a different ſpecies from them. [n] Such an education, ſo remote from all reproof and correction, had, ſays Plato, the ſucceſs which was to be expected from it. The two Princes, preſently after the death of Cyrus, took up arms againſt each other, as not being able to bear either a ſuperior or an equal; and Cambyſes, grown abſolute maſter, by the death of his brother ran furiouſly into all ſorts of exceſs, and brought the Perſian empire to the brink of ruin. Cyrus left him a vaſt extent of provinces, immenſe revenues, and innumerable armies; but all this turned to his ruin, for want of another benefit far more valuable, which he neglected to leave him, I mean a good education.

This judicious remark of Plato concerning Cyrus, entirely eſcaped me in reading the hiſtory of him by Xenophon. Nor did I reflect, that this hiſtorian is abſolutely ſilent upon the education of this Prince's children; whereas he largely deſcribes the excellent manner, in which the Perſian youth were brought up, and Cyrus himſelf among the reſt. This is the greateſt fault a Prince can be guilty of.

Philip King of Macedon behaved in a very different manner. [o] Upon the birth of his ſon, when engaged in the midſt of his conqueſts, and at the time of his greateſt exploits, he wrote Ariſtotle the following letter. "I give you notice that I have a ſon born; but "I am not ſo much obliged to the Gods for his birth, "as for the happineſs that he is come into the world, "whilſt there is an Ariſtotle living. For I hope, that "being brought up under your direction, and by your "care, he will not prove unworthy of his father's "glory, nor of the empire which I ſhall leave him." This was talking and thinking like a great Prince,

[n] Οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο εἶναι ἢ εἰκὸς αὖ τραφέντας τοιούτους; γενέσθαι, τροφῆς ἀκριβοῦς τυχόντας.

[o] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

who

who was thoroughly acquainted with the importance of a good education. Alexander had the same sentiments. An historian observes [p], that he loved Aristotle no less than his own father, *because*, he said, *he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.*

If it is a great fault in a Prince not to take care of the education of his own children, it is no less blameable to neglect that of the citizens in general. Plutarch very judiciously observes in the parallel he draws between Lycurgus and Numa, that it was a like negligence which rendered all the good designs and great institutions of the latter useless. The passage is very remarkable. "All the labour of Numa, says he, who "took pains only to maintain the peace and tranquil-"lity of Rome, vanished with him; and he was no "sooner dead than the temple of Janus, which he had "constantly kept shut, as if he had really confined "the dæmon of war in it, was immediately opened "again, and all Italy filled with blood and slaughter. "Thus the most beautiful and best of his institutions "was but of short duration, as it wanted the sole "tie capable of maintaining it, which was the edu-"cation of youth."

It was the opposite conduct which so long preserved the laws of Lycurgus in full force. For, as the same Plutarch observes, "the religion of an oath, which he "required of the Lacedæmonians, would have been "but a weak support after his death, if by education "he had not imprinted the laws in their manners. "By education he made them imbibe the love of his "form of government almost with their milk, by "making it in a manner familiar and natural to them. "Thus we see the principal of his institutions sub-"sisted about five hundred years like a good and "strong dye, which had penetrated into the very "substance of the soul."

[p] Ἀριστοτέλη οὐχ ἧττον ἀγαπῶν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῆν. Plut. in vit. Alex.

All

All theſe great men of antiquity were therefore perſuaded, as Plutarch obſerves of Lycurgus in particular, that the moſt eſſential duty of a lawgiver, and in conſequence of a Prince, was to eſtabliſh good rules for the education of youth, and to ſee that they were exactly obſerved. It is ſurprizing to conſider how far they carried their attention and vigilance upon this point. They recommended precautions to be uſed in the choice of ſuch perſons as were to take care of children from their very birth, and it is plain that Quintilian has taken what he has ſaid upon this ſubject from Plato and Ariſtotle, eſpecially in what relates to nurſes. [q] He requires with thoſe wiſe philoſophers, that in the choice that is made of them, care ſhould not only be taken that they had no bad modes of ſpeaking, but alſo that a ſpecial regard ſhould be had to their manners and diſpoſition, and the reaſon he gives for it is admirable. "For what is learnt, ſays he, at that age, is "eaſily imprinted in the mind, and leaves deep marks "behind it, which are not eaſily to be effaced. As in "the caſe of a new veſſel, which long preſerves a tincture of the firſt liquor poured into it; and like wool, "which can never recover its firſt whiteneſs, after it "has been once dyed; and the misfortune is, that bad "habits laſt longer than good ones."

[r] 'Tis for the ſame reaſon, that theſe philoſophers look upon it as one of the moſt eſſential duties of thoſe, who are intruſted with the education of children, to remove from them as far as poſſible the ſlaves and domeſticks, whoſe diſcourſes and examples may be prejudicial to them.

To this they add a piece of advice, which will condemn a great many Chriſtian fathers and maſters. They require that boys ſhould not only be prevented

q Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio eſt: recte tamen etiam loquantur.... Naturâ enim tenacibus mira ſunt rerum quæ rudibus annis percepimus; ut ſapor quo novo imbuas durat, nec lanarum colores, quibus ſimplex ille candor mutatus eſt, elui poſſunt. Et hæc ipſa magis pertinaciter hærent quæ deteriora ſunt. Quintil. lib. 1. cap. i.

r Ariſt. Polit. lib. vii. c. 17.

eading any comedies, or ſeeing any theatrical
before they arrive at a certain age, but that all
es, ſculptures or tapeſtry, which may lay any in-
: and dangerous image before the eyes of chil-
ould be abſolutely baniſhed their cities. They
hat the magiſtrates ſhould carefully watch over
ecution of this ordinance, and that they ſhould
the workmen, even ſuch as were moſt induſtri-
vho refuſe to ſubmit to it, to carry their fatal
ſome other place. [a] They were perſuaded, that
uch objects as theſe, that were adapted to flatter
ſions and foment vice, there aroſe a kind of con-
s and peſtilential air, that was at length inſen-
pable of infecting the maſters themſelves, who
e it every moment without fear and precaution;
hat theſe objects were like ſo many poiſoned
s, which exhale a deadly odour, the more to be
, as it was the leſs ſuſpected, and even appear-
eeable. Theſe wiſe philoſophers require on the
hand, that every thing in a city ſhould teach and
: virtue; inſcriptions, pictures, ſtatues, plays,
nverſations; and that from every thing that is
ted to the ſenſes, and ſhould ſtrike the eyes and
there ſhould be formed a kind of ſalutary air
eath, which ſhould imperceptibly inſinuate it-
to the ſouls of children, and aſſiſted by the in-
on of the maſter, ſhould incline them from their
eſt years to the love of probity and a regard
e honeſt and the decent. There is a beauty
elicacy in the original text, of which no other
.ge is capable; and though this paſſage be ſome-
ong, I have thought proper to quote a great
f it, to give ſome idea of Plato's ſtile.

all now return to my ſubject, and conclude this
ticle, with deſiring the reader to conſider, how
gans themſelves always looked upon the care of
ucation of children, as the moſt eſſential duty of
s, magiſtrates and Princes, becauſe it is of the laſt

[a] Plat. lib. iii. de Rep.

importance during the reſt of their lives, to have good principles inſtilled into them from the beginning. In ſhort, while their minds are yet tender and flexible, they may be turned and managed as we pleaſe; whereas age and long habit will make faults almoſt incorrigible. [t] *Frangas enim citius quam corrigas, quæ in pravum induruerunt.*

## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *Whether a private or publick education ought to be preferred.*

DURING the whole time I have been engaged in the education of youth, being thoroughly ſenſible of the dangers which occur both in private houſes and great ſchools, I have never preſumed to give advice upon this ſubject, and have always contented myſelf with applying as carefully as I could to the inſtruction of the youth, which divine providence committed to my care. I think I ought ſtill to obſerve the ſame neutrality, and leave it to the prudence of parents to decide a queſtion, which certainly admits of great difficulties on both ſides.

[u] Quintilian has diſcourſed upon this point with great prolixity and eloquence. The paſſage is one of the moſt beautiful in his work, and deſerves to be read in the original. I ſhall here give an extract of it.

He begins with anſwering two objections, which are uſually made againſt publick ſchools.

The firſt relates to purity of morals, which they pretend is here expoſed to the greateſt dangers. Was this the caſe, he thinks we ſhould not heſitate a moment; [w] the care of living well being infinitely preferable to

[t] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.
[u] ibid. cap. 1.
[w] Petior mihi ratio vivendi honeſte, quam vel optime dicendi videretur.

that

that of ſpeaking well. But, he ſays, the danger is equal on both ſides; that the whole depends upon the natural diſpoſition of the children, and the care that is taken of their education; that uſually the evil ſprings from the parents themſelves, by the bad examples they ſet their children. They every day, ſays he, hear and ſee ſuch things, as they ought to be ignorant of during their whole lives. [x] All this paſſes into habit, and ſoon after into nature. The poor children find themſelves vicious before they know what vice is. Thus breathing nothing but luxury and pleaſure, they do not derive their irregularity from the ſchools, but bring it thither.

The ſecond objection concerns the advancement in their ſtudies, which muſt be greater in a private houſe, where the maſter has but one ſcholar to inſtruct. Quintilian does not allow it for ſeveral reaſons, which he lays down, but he adds, that this inconvenience, though it were real, is abundantly made good by the great advantages which follow upon a publick education.

[y] Firſt, a publick education emboldens a young man, gives him courage, early accuſtoms him not to be afraid of appearing in publick, and cures him of a certain puſillanimity, which naturally attends a private and retired life; whereas in ſecret he uſually grows languid and dejected, he ruſts in a manner, or elſe falls into an oppoſite extreme, becomes conceited, ſetting a greater value upon himſelf than upon others, from having no perſon to compare himſelf with.

2, and 3. In a publick ſchool there are acquaintances formed, which often laſt as long as life, and

x Fit ex his conſuetudo, deinde natura. Diſcunt hæc miſeri, antequam ſciant vitia eſſe. Inde ſoluti ac fluentes, non accipunt è ſcholis mala iſta, ſed in ſcholas afferunt.

y Ante omnia futurus orator, cui in maxima celebritate & in media reip. luce vivendum eſt, aſſueſcat jam à tenero non reformidare homines, neque illa ſolitaria & velut umbratili vita palleſcere. Excitanda mens & attollenda ſemper eſt, quæ in hujuſmodi ſecretis aut langueſcit, & quendam velut in opaco ſitum ducit; aut contra tumeſcit inani perſuaſione. Neceſſe eſt enim ſibi nimium tribuat, qui ſe nemini comparat.

there is a certain knowledge of the world to be acquired, which can be learnt only in ſociety. Quintilian does not inſiſt much upon theſe two advantages, and ſeems to ſet no great value on them.

4. The great advantage of ſchools is emulation. A child there improves both by what is ſaid to himſelf, and what is ſaid to others. He will every day ſee his maſter approve one thing, and correct another; blame the idleneſs of this boy, and commend the diligence of that, and will be the better for it all. The love of glory will ſerve him as an incentive to take pains. He will be aſhamed to give place to his equals, and will take pains to excel the moſt forward. A good ſcholar will uſe his utmoſt endeavours to be the firſt in his form, and carry the prize. [z] This gives ardour to young minds; and a noble emulation well managed, without any mixture of malice, envy and pride, is one of the beſt means to lead them to the exerciſe of the greateſt virtues and the moſt arduous undertakings.

5. Another advantage to be found in ſchools is, that a young man meets with ſuch models among his companions as are within his reach, ſuch as he flatters himſelf he may be able to come up to, and does not deſpair of ſurpaſſing one day. Whereas, if he was alone, it would be preſumption in him to compare himſelf with his maſter.

6. Laſtly, a maſter who has a numerous auditory, exerts himſelf quite otherwiſe than he who having but one ſcholar, can ſpeak only coldly to him, and in the way of converſation. Now it is incredible how uſeful this fire and vivacity of a maſter, who, in explaining the beautiful paſſages of an author, grows warm and tranſported, is, not only to make the boys attentive, but to inſpire them with the ſame taſte and ſentiments, as he feels in addreſſing himſelf to them.

Quintilian does not fail to obſerve, that the opinion which he maintains is confirmed by univerſal practice,

[z] Accendunt omnia hæc animos: & licet ipſa vitium ſit ambitio, frequenter tamen cauſa virtutum eſt.

and

and the authority of the moſt eſteemed authors, and moſt famous legiſlators.

I might add, that this conduct has been obſerved with no leſs regularity ſince the time of Quintilian, and even amongſt Chriſtians. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſupplies us with abundance of examples. That of St. Baſil and St. Gregory Nazianzen is known to all the world. I ſhall relate it particularly at the cloſe of this volume, and ſhall now only obſerve, that the families of theſe two illuſtrious friends were the moſt Chriſtian that were then in the church. They thought, however, they might commit the deareſt treaſure they had in the world to the publick ſchools, and God bleſſed their pious intentions with a ſucceſs, which far exceeded their expectations. Shall we venture to charge this conduct with imprudence and preſumption?

On the other ſide, may we venture to condemn the religious apprehenſion of Chriſtian parents, who upon ſeeing the dangers which occur in colleges (and it muſt be owned too that they are great) and being leſs ſolicitous about their children's improvement in the ſciences, than to preſerve to them the precious and ineſtimable treaſure of their innocence, determine to bring them up under their own inſpection in a family, where they may hear nothing but diſcreet converſation, where they may ſee nothing but good examples, and from whence whatever may be capable of corrupting the purity of their morals is carefully removed as much as poſſible? There are now certainly ſome ſuch houſes, but the number of them is very few.

Beſides the two uſual methods of bringing up youth, the boarding them out at publick ſchools, or inſtructing them in private, there is a third, which holds the mean between both, and ſeems to unite them together; and this is, to ſend children to ſchool to improve by the emulation of the claſſes, and keeping them at home the reſt of the time. By this means, perhaps, they avoid a part of the dangers, as they are alſo deprived of one part of the advantages of the college; amongſt

which we ought certainly to reckon the order, regularity and diſcipline, which by the ſound of a clock points out all the exerciſes of the day in an uniform manner, and the ſimplicity and frugality of their way of living, which are very different from the indulgence of their fathers houſes, and ſerve only to render them too nice and tender. [a] This obſervation was made by an illuſtrious magiſtrate in times paſt, in a paſſage which I have quoted in the firſt volume of this work. "My father, ſays this magiſtrate, ſaid "he had two views in the education of the college; "the one was the gay and innocent converſation of "the youths; the other was the ſchool diſcipline, to "make us forget the endearments of our home, and as "it were to cleanſe us in freſh water. I think thoſe "eighteen months I ſpent at college were of great "ſervice to me———I learnt the frugal life of the "ſcholars, and how to portion out my time."

Another advantage of colleges (ſuppoſing them to be ſuch as they ſhould be,) and the greateſt of all, is, that the boys are there thoroughly taught their religion. They learn there to take the knowledge of it from its ſource, to know the true ſpirit and real greatneſs of it, and to fortify themſelves by ſolid principles againſt the dangers which faith and piety too frequently meet with in the world. It is not impoſſible, but certainly it is very rare, to find this advantage in private houſes.

Now what muſt we conclude from all theſe principles and all theſe facts? There is no college which cannot produce a great number of examples of youth who have had an excellent education there, and been improved both in the ſciences and in piety; nor is there any one, which has not ſeen with grief, a very great number miſcarry; and the caſe is the ſame in private houſes.

The concluſion, which in my opinion, we ſhould draw from hence is, that as the dangers are very great to youth on all ſides, it is the duty of parents to ex-

[a] Henry de Meſmes, tom. i. p. 75.

amine

amine well before God what courſe they ought to take; equitably to weigh the advantages and inconveniencies which occur on both ſides; to be determined in ſo important a deliberation, only by the motives of religion; and above all, to make ſuch a choice of maſters and ſchools, in caſe they follow that courſe, as may, if not entirely diſſipate, at leaſt diminiſh their juſt apprehenſions.

*The plan and diviſion of this treatiſe.*

To enter uſefully into the particulars of what concerns the interior government of the claſſes and colleges, it is neceſſary to conſider ſeparately the duty of the different perſons who are employed in the education of youth, and have any relation to it. But as there are ſome general directions which almoſt belong to all alike, I will begin this treatiſe with them, that I may avoid the repetitions, which would be otherwiſe unavoidable.

## PART the FIRST.

### *General inſtructions upon the education of youth.*

I Shall begin with deſiring the reader, when I talk of inſtructions, rules, precepts and duties, which are terms that I cannot avoid employing in the ſubject I treat of, to do me ſo much juſtice as to think, that I do not pretend to preſcribe laws to any one, or to ſet up for a maſter or cenſurer of my brethren. My only deſign is to aſſiſt, if I can, ſuch young perſons as are intruſted with the education of children, who for want of experience are ſubject to commit a great many faults, as I own I myſelf have formerly done; and I ſhall think myſelf very happy, if I can contribute to make them avoid them, by laying my reflections before

them, or rather thoſe of the ableſt maſters in point of education. For I ſhall here ſcarce ſay any thing of my own, eſpecially in this firſt part, which is the moſt important, and ſhould ſerve as the baſis and foundation to all the reſt. Athens and Rome ſhall ſtill lend me their aſſiſtance. I ſhall likewiſe make uſe of two modern authors, and often without quoting them. Theſe are M. de Fenelon archbiſhop of Cambray, and Mr. Locke, whoſe writings upon this ſubject are juſtly very much eſteemed. The laſt has ſome particular ſentiments, which I would not always adopt. Beſides, I queſtion whether he was well ſkilled in the Greek tongue, and in the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres, at leaſt he ſeems not to ſet the value upon them they deſerve. But both of them may be of very great uſe with relation to morals and conduct, not only to young maſters, but to perſons of greater experience. I have taken the liberty of making uſe of the labours of others, as I have thought fit, and I am inclined to think that the publick will not be diſpleaſed at it, being content to have good things laid before them without being concerned from whence they are taken. I ſhall reduce to twelve or thirteen articles the general inſtructions which relate to the education of youth.

## ARTICLE the FIRST.

### *What end we ſhould propoſe to ourſelves in education.*

TO ſucceed in the education of youth, the firſt ſtep in my opinion, is to lay down the end we ſhould propoſe, to enquire by what means it is to be obtained,

[b] Decernatur primum & quo tendamus, & quæ non ſine periculo alterius cui explorata ſint ea, in quæ pro cdimus. . . . Hic tutiſſima quæque via & celeberrima maxime decipit. Nihil ergo magis præſtandum, quam ne, jecorum ritu, ſequamur antecedentium greges, pergentes

obtained, and to chuſe out an able and experienced guide, who is able to conduct us ſafely to it. Tho' it be generally a very wiſe and judicious rule to avoid all ſingularity, and to follow the received cuſtoms, yet I queſtion whether in the point we now treat of, this principle does not admit of ſome exception, and whether we ought not to apprehend the dangers and inconveniencies of blindly following the footſteps of thoſe who have gone before us, ſo as to conſult cuſtom more than reaſon, and the governing our actions rather by what others do than by what they ſhould do; from whence it often happens, that an error once eſtabliſhed is handed down from age to age, and becomes almoſt a certain law, from a notion that we ought to act like the reſt of mankind, and follow the example of the greater number. But human nature is not ſo happy as to have the greateſt number always make the beſt choice, and we too frequently obſerve the contrary.

If we conſult our reaſon ever ſo little, it is eaſy to diſcern, that the end which maſters ſhould have in view, is not barely to teach their ſcholars Greek and Latin, to learn them to make exerciſes and verſes, to charge their memory with facts and hiſtorical dates, to draw up ſyllogiſms in form, or to trace lines or figures upon paper. [c] Theſe branches of learning I own are uſeful and valuable, but as means and not as the end; when they conduct us to other things, and not when we ſtop at them; when they ſerve us as preparatives and inſtruments for better knowledge, without which the reſt would be uſeleſs. Youth would have cauſe to com-

pergentes, non qua eundum eſt, ſed qua itur . . . non ad ra ionem, ſed ad ſimilitudinem vivimus. . . Ita, dum unuſquiſque mavult credere, quam judicare, verſat nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error. . . . Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur, ut meliora pluribus placeant: argumentum peſſimi turba eſt. Senec. lib. de vit. beat. cap. i. & ii.

[c] Liberalia ſtudia haſtenus utilia ſunt, ſi præparent ingenium, non detinent. . . . Rudimentum ſunt noſtra, non opera. . . . Non diſcere debemus iſta, ſed didiciſſe. . . . . Quid ex his arcibus metum demit, cupiditatem eximit, libidinem ſræ nat? . . . . Nihil apud illas invenies quod vetet timere, vetet cupere: quæ quiſquis ignorat, alia fruſtra ſcit. Senec. Epiſt. 88.

plain, if they were condemned to ſpend eight or ten of the beſt years of their life in learning, at a great expence, and with incredible pains, one or two languages, and ſome other matters of a like nature, which perhaps they would ſeldom have occaſion to uſe. The end of maſters, in the long courſe of their ſtudies, is to habituate their ſcholars to a ſerious application of mind, to make them love and value the ſciences, and to cultivate in them ſuch a taſte as ſhall make them thirſt after them when they are gone from ſchool; to point out the method of attaining them, and make them thoroughly ſenſible of their uſe and value; and by that means diſpoſe them for the different employments to which it ſhall pleaſe God to call them. Beſides this, the end of maſters ſhould be to improve their hearts and underſtandings, to protect their innocence, to inſpire them with principles of honour and probity, to train them up to good habits, to correct and ſubdue in them by gentle means the ill inclinations they ſhall be obſerved to have, [d] ſuch as pride, inſolence, and high opinion of themſelves, and a ſaucy vanity continually employed in leſſening others, a blind ſelf-love, ſolely attentive to its own advantage, a ſpirit of raillery, which is pleaſed with offending and inſulting others, an inſolence and ſloth, which renders all the good qualities of the mind uſeleſs.

[d] In primis inſolentiam & nimiam æſtimationem ſui, tumoremque elatum ſupra cæteros & amorem rerum ſuarum cæcum & improvidum; dicacitatem & ſuppe biam contumeliis gaudentem deſidiam diſſolutionemque ſegnis animi indormientis ſibi. Senec. lib. de vit. beat. c. 1.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *To study the character of children, in order to be able to manage them well.*

EDucation, properly ſpeaking, is the art of managing and forming the mind. Of all ſciences it is the moſt difficult, the moſt intricate, and at the ſame time the moſt important, but yet not ſufficiently ſtudied. To judge of it by common experience, one would ſay that of all animals, man is the moſt untractable. 'Tis the judicious reflection which Xenophon makes in the beautiful preface to his Cyropedia. After he has obſerved, that we never ſee flocks of ſheep or oxen rebel againſt their leaders, whereas nothing is more common amongſt men; it ſeems, ſays he, a natural concluſion from hence, that it is more difficult to command over men than over beaſts. But caſting his eyes upon Cyrus, who governed ſo many provinces in peace, and was equally beloved by the people he had conquered, and his natural ſubjects, [e] he concludes, that the fault muſt ariſe not from thoſe who are unwilling to obey, but from the ſuperiors who know not how to govern.

The ſame may be ſaid in ſome meaſure of thoſe who are intruſted with the education of children. [f] It muſt be owned that the mind of man, even in his infancy, bears the yoke with impatience, and naturally inclines to what is forbidden. [g] But what we muſt conclude from hence is, that for this very reaſon he requires more precaution and addreſs, and that he

e Οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὔτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, ἂν τις ἐπιστήμονως τοῦτο πράττῃ.

f Natura contumax eſt humanus animus, & in contrarium atque arduum nitens, ſequiturque facilius quam ducitur. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 24.

g Nullum animal moroſius eſt, nullum majore arte tractandum, quam homo: nulli magis arcendum. Ibid. cap. 17.

yields more willingly to mildneſs than violence, *Sequitur facili ſ, quam ducitur.* We ſometimes ſee a high-mettled horſe caper and gnaw the bit, and refuſe to obey the ſpur; 'tis becauſe he who is upon him, has a hard and heavy hand, knows not how to guide him, and checks the bridle when he ought not. Give this horſe, who has a very tender mouth, an underſtanding and ſkilful rider, and he will check all his ſallies, and with a light hand govern him with pleaſure, *generoſi atque nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur.*

[h] To compaſs this end, the maſter's firſt care is thoroughly to ſtudy and ſearch into the genius and character of the children, for by this he muſt regulate his conduct. [i] There are ſome who are lazy and remiſs, unleſs they are continually called upon, and others cannot bear to be imperiouſly treated; ſome will be reſtrained by fear, and others on the contrary diſcouraged. We can gain nothing out of ſome, but by mere labour and application; and others only will ſtudy by fits and ſtarts; to endeavour to bring them all to a level, and make them ſubmit to one and the ſame rule, is to attempt to force nature. The prudence of the maſter will conſiſt in keeping a medium, equally removed from the two extremes; for here the ill ſo cloſely borders upon the good, that it is eaſy to miſtake the one for the other, [k] and 'tis this which renders the management of youth ſo difficult. Too much liberty makes way for licentiouſneſs; and too much conſtraint makes them ſtupid; commenda-

[h] Senec. ibid cap. 24.

[i] Sunt quidam, niſi inſtiteris, remiſſi; quidam imperia indignantur: quoſdam continet metus, quoſdam debilitat: alios continuatio extundit, in aliis plus impetus facit. Quint. lib. 1. cap. 3.

[k] Difficile regimen eſt . . . . & diligenti obſervatione res indiget. Utrumque enim & quod extollendum, & quod deprimendum, ſimilibus alitur: facile autem etiam attendentem ſimilia decipiunt. Craſcit licentia ſpiritus, ſervitute comminuitur: allurgit, ſi laudatur; & in ſpem ſui bonam adducitur; ſed eadem iſtam inſolentiam generant. Sic itaque inter utrumque regendus eſt, ut modo frenis utamur, modo ſtimulis. Senec. de Ira, lib. ii. cap. 21.

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tion excites and encourages, but it alſo inſpires vanity and preſumption. We muſt therefore keep a juſt temper, and hold an even hand between theſe two inconveniencies, after the example of Iſocrates in the caſe of Ephorus and Theopompus, who were of a very different character. [1] This great maſter, who was as ſucceſsful in his inſtructions as his writings, (as appears from his ſcholars and his books) making uſe of a bridle to give a check to the vivacity of the one, and a ſpur to awaken the ſluggiſhneſs of the other, did not aim at reducing them both to the ſame ſtandard. His end in taking away from the one and adding to the other, was to carry each of them to that perfection, of which their natural capacity would admit.

This model we muſt follow in the education of children. They carry within them the principles, and in a manner the ſeeds of all virtues and vices; and the principal point is thoroughly to ſtudy at firſt their genius and character, to become acquainted with their humour, their diſpoſition and talents; and above all, to diſcover their paſſions and prevailing inclinations; not with a view or expectation of entirely changing their temper, of making him gay, for inſtance, who is naturally grave, or him ſerious who is of a lively and chearful diſpoſition. It is with certain characters, as with perſonal defects, they may be ſomewhat redreſſed, but not abſolutely cured. Now the way of growing acquainted in this manner with children, is to give them great liberty to diſcover their inclinations whilſt young, to let them follow their natural bent, in order to diſcern it the better; to com-

1 Clariſſimus ille præceptor Iſocrates, quem non magis libri benedixiſſe quam diſcipuli bene docuiſſe teſtantur, dicebat ſe calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti ſolere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quaſi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos ſimiles effecit inter ſe ſed tantum alteri affinxit, de altero limavit, ut id confirmaret in utroque, quod utriuſque natura pateretur. Quintil. lib. ii. c. 8. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 36.

ply

ply with their little infirmities, to encourage them to let us ſee them; to obſerve them whilſt they think leaſt of it, eſpecially at their [m] play, when they ſhew their tempers moſt; for children are naturally plain and without reſerve; but as ſoon as they think themſelves taken notice of, they throw themſelves under a reſtraint, and keep upon their guard.

[n] It is of great moment alſo to diſtinguiſh the nature of the faults which prevail in youth. In general, we may hope that thoſe, wherein age, bad education, ignorance, being ſeduced, and ill example have any ſhare, are not without remedy; and on the other hand, we may believe, that ſuch as are naturally rooted in the mind, and in the corruption of the heart, will be very difficult to be got over, ſuch as double dealing and hypocriſy, flattery, an inclination to tell ſtories, to ſow diviſions, to envy or detract, a diſpoſition to ſcoff, and eſpecially at the advice given them, and at things ſacred, a natural oppoſition to reaſon, and, what is a conſequence of it, a readineſs to take things in a wrong ſenſe.

## ARTICLE the THIRD.

### *To aſſume an immediate authority over the Children.*

THIS maxim is of the utmoſt moment during their whole education, and for all perſons who are charged with it. By authority, I mean a certain air and aſcendant, which imprints reſpect and procures obedience. 'Tis neither age nor ſtature, the tone of the voice, nor threatening, by which this authority is to be obtained; but an even, firm, moderate diſpoſition of mind, which is always maſter of itſelf, is

[m] Mores ſe inter ludendum ſimplicius detegunt. Quintilian, lib. i. cap. 3.

[n] Lettre. de pieté. Tom. I.

guided

guided only by reaſon, and never acts by fancy or paſſion.

It is this qualification and talent, which keeps all in order, eſtabliſhes an exact diſcipline, ſees that commands are obſerved, ſaves the trouble of reprimands, and prevents almoſt all puniſhments. Now it is from the very firſt entrance upon their government, that parents and maſters ſhould aſſume this aſcendant. If they do not ſeize upon this favourable moment, and poſſeſs themſelves early of this authority, they will have all the pains in the world to do it afterwards, and the child will domineer at laſt. [o] *Animum*, and we may likewiſe ſay, *Puerum rege, qui, niſi paret, imperat.* This is literally true, and ſcarce to be believed, if a conſtant experince did not every day confirm it. There is deep rooted in the heart of man a love of independency, which diſcloſes itſelf from our childhood, and even at the breaſt. [p] What mean thoſe cries, thoſe tears, the threatening geſture of the eyes ſparkling with rage, in an infant, when reſolved to gain his point with all his force, or inflamed with jealouſy againſt one another? "I have "ſeen, ſays [q] St. Auguſtine, a child burning with "jealouſy. He could not yet talk, but with a pale "countenance could caſt a furious look at another "child, who was ſucking with him at the ſame "breaſt." *Vidi ego & expertus ſum zelantem parvulum. Nondum loquebatur, & intuebatur pallidus amaro aſpectu collactaneum ſuum.*

Here we have the time and moment pointed out for ſubduing this bad inclination in a child, by accuſtoming him from the cradle to controul his deſires, not to purſue his own fancies, but in a word, to ſubmit and obey. If we never gave children what they

o Horat. Sat. II. lib. 1.

p Flendo petere, etiam quod noxie daretur: indignari acriter. . . non ad nutum voluntatis obtemperantibus: feriendo nocere aliis, quantum poteſt, quia non obeditur imperiis, quibus pernicioſe obediretur. Ita imbecillitas membrorum infantilium innocens eſt, non animus infantium. S. Aug. Conf. lib. i. cap. 7.

q Ibid.

cried

cried for, they would learn to go without it, nor would there be ſo much bawling and uneaſineſs before they were brought to temper, and conſequently they would not be ſo troubleſome to themſelves or others, as they are for want of being brought up in this manner from their infancy.

When I ſpeak thus, I do not mean abſolutely that no indulgence ſhould be ſhewn to children, I am very far from ſuch a diſpoſition. I ſay only we muſt not give them what they cry for, and if they redouble their importunity to obtain it, we muſt let them know, that they are expreſly refuſed it for that very reaſon; and this muſt be held as an indiſputable maxim, that after they have once been refuſed any thing, we muſt reſolve never to grant it to their crying or importuning, unleſs we have a mind to teach them to become impatient and peeviſh, by rewarding them for their peeviſhneſs and impatience.

We ſee with ſome parents that the children never aſk for any thing at table, whatever is ſet before them, but take all that is given them with pleaſure and thankfulneſs; in other houſes they aſk for every thing they ſee, and muſt be ſerved before all the company. Now whence ariſes this remarkable difference, but from the different education they have had? The younger children are, the leſs their irregular deſires ſhould be ſatisfied. The leſs reaſon they have, the more neceſſary it is for them to ſubmit to abſolute power and the direction of thoſe in whoſe hands they are. When once they have taken this turn, and cuſtom has ſubdued their will, they are cured for the reſt of their lives, and eaſily learn to obey.

[r] *Adeo in teneris conſueſcere multum eſt.*

What I have ſaid of children in their childhood, may be applied to them at any other age. The firſt care of a ſcholar who is put under a new maſter, is to

[r] Geor. lib. ii. v. 272.

ſtudy

ſtudy and ſound him. There is nothing he does not attempt, he ſpares no induſtry or artifice to get the better of him if he can. When he ſees all his pains and cunning is to no purpoſe, and that the maſter calmly and quietly oppoſes them with a gentle and reaſonable reſolution, which always ends in making himſelf obeyed, he then yields, and chearfully ſubmits; and this kind of little war, or rather ſkirmiſh, where on both ſides they have tried each other's forces, is happily concluded with a peace and a good underſtanding, which make them eaſy all the reſt of the time they are to live together.

## ARTICLE the FOURTH.

### *To make one's ſelf beloved and feared.*

THE reſpect, upon which the authority I have ſpoke of is founded, includes two things, fear and love, which lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance, and are the two great ſprings and hinges of all government in general, and of the conduct of children in particular. As they are of an age wherein reaſon inſtead of having the ſuperiority, ſcarce begins to ſhew itſelf, it is requiſite that fear ſhould ſometimes be called into its aſſiſtance, and take its place; but if it comes alone, and the allurement of pleaſure does not follow cloſe at its heels, it is not long[a] regarded, and its inſtructions produce but a ſlight effect, which the hope of impunity ſoon removes. Hence it comes to paſs, that in point of education the greateſt ſkill lies in knowing how to blend diſcreetly together a force, which ſhall keep children within due bounds without

[a] Timor non diuturnus magiſter officii. Cic. Philip. ii. n. 30. Imbecillis eſt pudoris magiſter timor, qui ſi quando paululum aberraverit, ſtatim ſpe impunitatis exultat. Id. in Hortenſ.

diſcourage-

diſcouragement, and a mildneſs which ſhall ga on them without indulging them too much. *rigor, ſed non exaſperans; ſit amor, ſed non em* On one hand the maſter's mildneſs removes wh is hard and auſtere from his office of comman blunts the point of it. *Hebetat aciem impe* Seneca beautifully expreſſes it. On the other his prudent ſeverity fixes and reſtrains the lig and inconſtancy of an age, which as yet adm of little reflection, and is incapable of govern ſelf. It is therefore this happy mixture of m and ſeverity, of love and fear, which eſtabliſhes th ter's authority, which is the ſoul of governmer inſpires the ſcholars with reſpect, which is the band of obedience and ſubmiſſion; in ſuch ſort ever that kindneſs and love prevail, and are mo quent on both ſides.

But ſome will ſay, though this manner of g ing children by kindneſs and gentleneſs is eaſ haps to a private tutor, is it practicable in the a principal of a college, a regent of a claſs, or a n who has a great many ſcholars in one common ber? and how is it poſſible in all theſe places t up an exact diſcipline, without which no good be expected, and at the ſame time to gain the l the ſcholars? I own that nothing is more diffi this circumſtance than to keep up a juſt mediu twixt too great ſeverity and an exceſſive indul but the thing is not impoſſible, ſince we ſee it tiſed by perſons who have the uncommon tal making themſelves feared, and ſtill more be The whole depends upon the behaviour of th ters. If they are ſuch as they ſhould be, their f will anſwer their deſires. Quintilian has point to us the qualities of a good maſter, and how h gain the affection of his ſcholars. The paſ very beautiful, and contains admirable advice. give it almoſt as it ſtands.

t S. Greg. Pap.

As it is a general principle that love is to be procured only by love, *ſi vis amari ama*. The firſt thing [v] Quintilian requires, is, "that a maſter ſhould above "all things aſſume a fatherly affection for his ſcho- "lars; and that he ſhould look upon himſelf as in "the place of thoſe, who commited them to him; "whence he muſt conſequently borrow the gentle- "neſs, patience, and ſentiments of kindneſs and "tenderneſs, natural to them.

"[w] That he be not vicious himſelf, nor allow of "vice in others; that he be ſevere without rough- "neſs, and gentle without indulgence, leſt he ſhould "be hated for the one, and deſpiſed for the other.

"[x] That he be not eaſily carried away with anger "and paſſion; but at the ſame time does not ſhut his "eyes to ſuch faults, as deſerve to be corrected.

"[y] That in his manner of teaching he be plain, "patient and exact, and rely more upon good order "and method and his own aſſiduity, than exceſſive "pains in his pupils; that he take pleaſure in an- "ſwering all the queſtions they aſk him, and that "he be even beforehand with them in aſking queſ- "tions of them, if they don't aſk him.

"[z] That he does not refuſe, upon proper occaſions, "to give them the praiſes they deſerve; but withal "that he be not too laviſh in beſtowing them. For "as the one diſcourages, the other inſpires a dange- "rous ſecurity.

"[a] If at any time he is obliged to reprimand them,

[v] Sumat ante omnia parentis erga diſcipulos ſuos animum, ac ſuccedere ſe in eorum locum, à quibus ſibi liberi traduntur, exiſtimet.

[w] Ipſe nec habeat vitia, nec ferat. Non auſteritas ejus triſtis, non diſſoluta ſit comitas: ne inde odium, hinc contemptus oriatur.

[x] Minime iracundus, nec tamen eorum, quæ emendanda erunt, diſſimulator.

[y] Simplex in docendo, patiens laboris, aſſiduus potius quam immodicus. Interrogantibus libenter reſpondeat: non interrogantes percontetur ultro.

[z] In laudandis diſcipulorum dictionibus nec malignus, nec effuſus: quia res altera tædium laboris altera ſecuritatem parit.

[a] In emendando, quæ corrigenda erunt, non acerbus, minimeque contumelioſus. Nam id quidem multos à propoſito ſtudendi fugat, quod quidem ſic objurgant quaſi oderint.

"that

" that he be neither ſevere nor ſhocking. For what " gives many an averſion to ſtudy is, their maſters " rebuke them with as gloomy an air as if they were " the objects of their hatred.

" [b] That he ſpeak often to them of virtue, and al- " ways with high encomiums; that he lay it con- " ſtantly before them under an advantageous and a- " greeable form, as the moſt excellent of all bleſſings, " and moſt worthy a reaſonable man, and moſt ho- " nourable to him, as a quality abſolutely neceſſary to " procure him the affection and eſteem of all mankind, " and as the only means of being truly happy. The " more frequently he puts them in mind of their du- " ty, the leſs he will be obliged to puniſh them.— " Let him every day ſay ſomething to them which " they may carry away with them, and be the bet- " ter for. Though what they read may furniſh them " with abundance of good examples, what he ſays to " them by word of mouth has a very different force, " and produces a quite different effect, eſpecially if " it comes from a maſter, whom children that are " well brought up both love and honour. For it can- " not be imagined, how eaſily we are led to copy af- " ter thoſe, of whom we have a favourable opinion."

Theſe are the qualifications which Quintilian requires in a maſter of rhetorick; (and they equally concern all ſuch as are intruſted with the inſtruction of youth,) to the end, ſays he, that as in this [c] claſs there are uſually a great number of ſcholars, [d] the wiſdom of the

[b] Plurimus ei de honeſto ac bono ſit ſermo. Nam quo ſæpius monuerit, hoc rarius caſtigabit. . . . Ipſe aliquid, imo multa quotidie dicat quæ ſecum audita referant. Licet enim ſatis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione ſuppeditet tamen viva illa, ut dicitur, vox alit plenius. Præcipiatque præceptoris, quem diſcipuli, ſi modo recte ſunt inſtituti, & amant, & verentur. Vix autem dici poteſt, quanto libentius imitemur eos, quibus favemus. This paſſage may be applied to the caſe of manners.

[c] They were ſeveral years upon the ſtudy of rhetorick, when the ſcholars in the ſame claſs, might be of different ages.

[d] Major adhibenda tum cura eſt, ut & teneriores annos ab injuria ſanctitas decoris cuſtodiat, & ferociores à licentia gravitas deterreat.

the maſter may preſerve thoſe who are very young, from being corrupted, and his gravity lay a reſtraint upon the licentiouſneſs of ſuch as a more advanced age renders more difficult to be governed. For it is not enough that he be a man of probity himſelf, unleſs he alſo knows how to keep his ſcholars in order by an exact diſcipline. We need make no doubt, but a maſter of this character will make himſelf both beloved and feared. But a great many think of taking a ſhorter and ſurer road, which is that of correction and reproof. It muſt be owned, that it ſeems more eaſy and is leſs troubleſome to maſters, than that of gentleneſs and inſinuation; but at the ſame time far leſs ſucceſsful. For we ſcarce ever arrive by correction at the only true end of education, which is to convince the mind, and inſpire a ſincere love of virtue; which I proceed to treat in the following articles.

## ARTICLE the FIFTH.

### Of Correction.

AS this article is of the utmoſt importance in education, I ſhall dwell ſomewhat longer upon it than the reſt, and divide it into two parts. In the firſt, I ſhall point out the inconveniencies and dangers of the uſe of the rod: In the ſecond, I ſhall lay down the rules we ought to follow in this kind of correction.

I. *The inconveniencies and dangers of correction.*

The moſt common and ſhorteſt way of correcting children is by the rod, which is almoſt the only remedy that is known or made uſe of by thoſe who are

ureat. Neque vero ſatis eſt ſummam præſtare abſtinentiam, niſi diſciplinæ ſeveritate convenientium, quoque ad ſe mores aſtrinxerit.

intruſted

intruſted with the education of youth. But this remedy becomes often a more dangerous evil than thoſe they would cure, if employed out of ſeaſon, or beyond meaſure. For beſides that the correction of the rod and the laſh, we are now ſpeaking of, have ſomething indecent, mean and ſervile in them, they have nothing in themſelves to remedy any fault committed, nor is it likely that ſuch a correction may become uſeful to a child, if the ſhame of ſuffering for having done ill has not a greater power over his mind, than the puniſhment itſelf. Beſides, theſe corrections give an incurable averſion to the things we ſhould endeavour to make them love. They do not change the humour, nor work any reformation in the natural diſpoſition, but only reſtrain it for a time, and ſerve to make the paſſions break out with more violence, when they are at liberty. They often ſtupify the mind, and harden it in evil. [e] For a child, that has ſo little honour as to be inſenſible to reproof, will accuſtom himſelf to blows like a ſlave, and grow obſtinate againſt puniſhment.

Muſt we therefore conclude, that we ought never to make uſe of this ſort of correction? That is not my meaning. For I am far from condemning in general the uſe of a rod, after what has been ſaid of it in ſeveral places of ſcripture, and eſpecially in the book of Proverbs. [f] *He that ſpareth his rod hateth his ſon, but he that loveth him chaſteneth him betimes.*—— [g] *Fooliſhneſs is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction ſhall drive it far from him.* The Holy Scripture, by theſe words, and others of a like nature, may perhaps deſign puniſhment in general, and condemn the miſtaken tenderneſs and blind indulgence of parents, who ſhut their eyes upon the vices of their children, and thereby render them incorrigible. But

[e] Si cui tam eſt mens illiberalis, ut objurgatione non corrigatur: is etiam ad plagas, ut peſſima quæque mancipia, durabitur. Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

[f] Prov. xiii. 24.

[g] Prov. xxii. 15.

ſuppoſing that the word rod is to be taken literally, it is very probable that this correction is adviſed for ſuch diſpoſitions, as are rude, groſs, indocile, untractable, and inſenſible to reproof and honour. For can we imagine, that the ſcripture which abounds in charity and gentleneſs, and is ſo full of compaſſion for the weakneſſes of a more advanced age, that the ſcriptures ſhould adviſe to treat children with ſeverity, when faults are frequently rather the effects of levity than wickedneſs?

I therefore conclude, that the puniſhments we are here ſpeaking of may be uſed, but ought to be employed very ſeldom, and for faults of conſequence. Theſe corrections are like the violent remedies, which are uſed in violent diſeaſes; they purge, but alter the conſtitution, and wear out the organs. A mind conducted by fear is always the weaker for it. [h] Whoever therefore has the direction of others, if he would heal, ſhould firſt uſe gentle remonſtrances, try what he can do by perſuaſion, make honeſty and juſtice grateful if poſſible, and inſpire an hatred for vice, and a paſſion for virtue. If this firſt attempt does not ſucceed, he may paſs to ſtronger methods and ſharper reproaches; and laſtly, when all this has been employed to no purpoſe, he may then proceed to corrections, but by degrees, ſtill leaving the hopes of pardon in view, and reſerving the greateſt for extreme faults and thoſe he deſpairs of.

Let us compare a man of this wiſdom and moderation, with a maſter that is haſty, paſſionate and violent, ſuch as Orbilius was whom his ſcholar Horace

[h] Seneca, after reporting at large the behaviour of a diſcreet phyſician towards his patient, makes an application of it to governors thus. Ita legum præſidem civitatiſque rectorem decet, quamdiu poteſt verbis, & his molliboribus, ingenia curare; ut facienda ſuadeat cupiditatemque honeſti & æqui conciliet animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutem: tranſeat deinde ad triſtiorem orationem, qua moneat adhuc & exprobret: noviſſime ad pœnas, & has adhuc leves & revocabiles decurrat: ultima ſupplicia ſceleribus ultimis ponat, ut nemo pereat, niſi quem pene etiam pereuntis interfit. De Ira, lib. ii. cap. 5.

ſtiles

ſtiles [i] *Plagoſus*; or with a perſon intruſted by Cicero with the education of his children, who was paſſionate to a degree of madneſs. [k] This was a ſlave who had been made free, that Tully highly valued in other reſpects, and in whom he repoſed an entire confidence. *Dionyſius quidem mihi in amoribus eſt. Pueri autem aiunt eum* FURENTER IRASCI. *Sed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt.* For my own part, I do not here diſcern either good underſtanding or prudence in Tully. Prejudiced in favour of this freedman, he does not ſeem to have any regard to the charge againſt him, as if ſuch a fault could be covered by learning, or ſubſiſt with the quality of a man of very great probity, *ſed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt.* He was afterwards undeceived, when that cowardly and perfidious ſlave had betrayed him.

[l] Which of the two maſters, ſays Seneca, ſhall we moſt eſteem? He who ſtrives to correct his ſcholars by prudent advice and motives of honour, or another who ſhall laſh them to pieces for not repeating their leſſon as they ought, and faults of a like nature? If we undertook to manage a horſe, could it be done by beating him in this violent manner? Or would it not be a certain way of making him apt to ſtart and fling, and to be unruly and reſtive? An able groom can break him better by careſſing him with a gentle hand; and why muſt men be treated with more cruelty than beaſts?

## II. *Rules to be obſerved in correction.*

1. It is certain, that if children are early accuſtomed

i A laſher. One that is given to blows and whipping. Ep. i. lib. 2.

k Ad Att. Ep. lib. 6.

l Uter præceptor liberalibus ſtudiis dignior, qui excarnificabit diſcipulos, ſi memoria illic non conſtiterit, aut ſi parum agilis in legendo oculus hæſerit: an qui monitionibus & verecundia emendare ac docere malit? Numquidnam æquum eſt, gravius homini & durius imperari, quam imperatur animalibus mutis? Atqui equum non crebris verberibus exterret domandi peritus magiſter. Fiet enim formidoloſus & contumax niſi eum tactu blandiente permulſeris. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 16.

to

to ſubmiſſion and obedience by the ſteady behaviour of parents and maſters, and that care is taken never to depart from this ſteadineſs, till ſuch time as fear and reſpect are grown familiar to them, and there appears not the leaſt ſhadow of conſtraint in their ſubmiſſion and obedience; this happy habit contracted from their moſt tender years, will almoſt ſpare the neceſſity of any future puniſhments. What uſually obliges us to have recourſe to that extremity, is the blind indulgence given to children at firſt, which makes their faults almoſt incorrigible, becauſe neglected in their birth.

2. Nothing is of greater conſequence than rightly to diſcern what faults deſerve to be puniſhed, and what ſhould be pardoned. In the number of the latter, I place all ſuch as happen through inadventency or ignorance, and which cannot paſs for the effects of malice and a bad intention, as only thoſe which ariſe from the will can make us culpable. [m] An officer of Auguſtus, as he was one day walking out with him, was ſo frightened at the ſight of a wild boar, that made directly towards them, that he ſaved himſelf by expoſing the Emperor to danger. The fault was conſiderable, but as it was not deſigned, Auguſtus was ſatisfied with turning it into a jeſt. *Rem non minimi periculi, qui tamen fraus aberat, in jocum vertit.*

I place in the ſame rank all the faults of levity and childhood, which will be infallibly corrected by time and age.

Neither do I think we ought to uſe the correction of a rod for ſuch failures as children may commit in learning to read, write or dance; or even in learning the languages, Latin, Greek, *&c.* except in certain caſes which I ſhall mention. Other puniſhments ſhould be contrived for ſuch faults, as do not ſeem to proceed from any ill diſpoſition of the heart, or an inclination to ſhake off the yoke of authority.

3. It is a great merit in maſters to be able to find out different kinds and degrees of puniſhments to cor-

[m] Sueton. in vit. Aug. c. 67.

rect their ſcholars. It depends upon them to fix an idea of ſhame and diſgrace upon a thouſand things which are indifferent of themſelves, and only become corrections by the idea affixed to them. I know a ſchool of poor children, where one of the greateſt and moſt ſenſible puniſhments that is inflicted upon ſuch as offend, is to make them ſit upon a ſeparate bench with their hats on, when any conſiderable perſon comes into the ſchool. 'Tis a torment to them to remain in that ſtate of humiliation, whilſt the reſt are ſtanding and uncovered. A thouſand things of the like nature may be invented, and I mention this inſtance, only to ſhew that the whole depends upon the induſtry of the maſter. There are children of quality, which have been kept in as much awe through an apprehenſion of going without ſhoes, as others of being whipt.

4. The only vice in my opinion, which deſerves a ſevere treatment, is obſtinacy in miſchief; but then this obſtinacy muſt be voluntary, certain and ſtrongly marked. We muſt not give this name to faults of levity and inconſtancy, into which children, who are naturally forgetful and heedleſs, may frequently fall, without giving room to imagine, that they ariſe from badneſs of diſpoſition. I ſuppoſe that a child has told a lie. If it was through a violent fear, the fault is much the leſs, and deſerves only to be gently reprimanded. If it is voluntary, deliberate and obſtinately perſiſted in, it is then a fault indeed, and certainly deſerves to be puniſhed. Yet I do not think that for the firſt time we ſhould make uſe of the correction of the rod, which is the laſt extremity children ſhould be expoſed to. "Will a father of good underſtanding, ſays Seneca, diſinherit a ſon for his firſt fault, how con-

" Nonne quidam, ſi ſemel filium ex probro deprehenderunt? Nihil non ſæpe & multæ injuriæ patientia vicerunt, nihil placuit quod tandem quum quod damnat, non excedit ad deteriorem filium. Multa ante tentat, quæ ad etiam indolem, & priore loco jam poſtram revocet. Simul deplorata eſt, ultima expetitur. Senecæ Contr. l. 6. i. cap. 14.

ſiderable

derable ſoever it may be? No, doubtleſs. He will rſt uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reclaim him, and to orrect if poſſible his bad diſpoſition: Nor will he pro-eed to ſuch an extremity, till the caſe is grown de-perate and his patience quite worn out. A maſter muſt follow the like conduct in proportion.

5. I would ſay the ſame of indocility and diſobe-ience when obſtinately perſiſted in, and attended ith an air of contempt and rebellion.

6. There is another ſort of obſtinacy which relates o ſtudy, and may be called an obſtinate ſloth, which ſually occaſions maſters a great deal of trouble; hen children will learn nothing unleſs they are ompelled to it by force. There is nothing I own nore perplexing or difficult to manage than ſuch diſ-oſitions, eſpecially when inſenſibility and indiffe-ence are joined to ſloth, as is very common. In this aſe a maſter ſtands in need of all his prudence and nduſtry to render ſtudy, if not amiable to his ſcho-ar, at leaſt ſupportable, by mixing force with mild-neſs, threatenings with promiſes, and puniſhments with reward. And when all has been employed to no purpoſe, we may then come to correction, but not make it too common and habitual; for then the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe.

7. When it is judged neceſſary to uſe correction, the time and manner of uſing it ſhould be conſidered. Diſeaſes of the ſoul require to be treated at leaſt with as much ſkilfulneſs and addreſs, as thoſe of the body. Nothing is more dangerous than a remedy miſ-applied and ill timed. A wiſe phyſician waits till the patient is able to bear it, and with that view watches the favourable moments for adminiſtring it.

The firſt rule therefore is never to puniſh a child the moment he commits a fault, for fear of exaſperating him, and cauſing him to commit new ones by urging him to extremes, but to allow him time for recollec-

o Ut corporum, ita animorum, nec. de Benef. lib. vii. cap. 30. molliter vitia tractanda ſunt. Se-

tion, to reflect upon what he has done, and grow ſenſible that he has been to blame, and at the ſame time that his puniſhment is both juſt and neceſſary, and thus put him in a condition to be the better for it.

The maſter again muſt never puniſh with paſſion or in anger, eſpecially if the fault perſonally regards himſelf, ſuch as want of reſpect, or any abuſive word. ¶ He muſt call to mind what Socrates ſaid excellently well to a ſlave, that had miſbehaved towards him. *I would treat thee as thou deſerveſt, were I not in a paſſion.* ¶ It were to be wiſhed, that all perſons who have authority over others were like the laws, which puniſh without anger or emotion, and out of the ſole motive of juſtice and the publick good. If the maſter diſcovers himſelf to be ever ſo little moved by a change of countenance, or alteration of the tone of his voice, the ſcholar ſoon perceives it, and diſcovers that this flame breaks out not from a zeal for duty, but the heat of paſſion. And this ſuffices to render the puniſhment entirely fruitleſs; becauſe children, young as they are, know that reaſon only has a right to correct them.

As puniſhment ſhould ſeldom be adminiſtred, all poſſible care is required to make it beneficial. Let a child ſee, for inſtance, that you have done all you could to avoid coming to this extreme; ſeem to be concerned that you are under a neceſſity of exerciſing it againſt your inclination; talk before him with other perſons how unhappy they are, who are ſo void of reaſon and honour as to ſtand in need of being corrected; withdraw your uſual marks of friendſhip, till you perceive it neceſſary to conſole him; make this chaſtiſement publick or private, according as you ſhall judge it moſt uſeful for the child either to be ex-

¶ Ad coercitionem errantium, non raro caſtigatore non eſt opus. . . . Inde eſt quod Socrates ſervo ait: Cæderem te, niſi iraſcerer. Senec. lib. i. de ira, cap. 15.

¶ Prohibenda maximè eſt ira in puniendo . . . optandumque ut ii, qui præſunt aliis, legum ſimiles ſint, quæ ad puniendum æquitate ducuntur, non iracundia. Cic. de Offic. lib. 1. n. 8.

poſed

poſed to ſhame, or made ſenſible that it is ſpared him; reſerve this publick ſhame as a laſt remedy; make uſe ſometimes of a reaſonable perſon to talk with him, and tell him what is not yet proper for you to tell him yourſelf; one who may cure him of his falſe ſhame, diſpoſe him to ſubmit, and to whom the child in the heat of his paſſion may open his heart more freely, than he durſt do before you; but be very careful that you never demand any other ſubmiſſions than ſuch as are reaſonable and neceſſary. Endeavour to bring him to a ſelf-conviction, and that it only remains for you to mitigate the puniſhment which he has conſented to. Theſe general rules muſt be applied by every maſter, according as his particular occaſions require.

But if the child that is to be puniſhed is neither to be moved by a ſenſe of honour or ſhame, care muſt be taken that in the firſt correction he may feel a ſharp and laſting impreſſion, that fear at leaſt, for want of a more noble motive, may keep him to his duty.

I have no need to take notice, that a box of the ear, blows, and other treatments of the like ſort, are abſolutely not to be allowed maſters. They ſhould never puniſh but in order to correct, and paſſion will not correct at all. Let any one aſk himſelf, whether he can coolly, and without emotion, give a boy a box on the ear; and ſure[r] anger, which is in itſelf a vice, is a very improper remedy for curing the vices of others.

[r] Cùm ira delictum animi ſit, non oportet peccata corrigere peccando. Senec. lib. i. de ira, cap. 15.

## ARTICLE the SIXTH.

### *Of reproofs.*

THIS matter is of no leſs importance than that of puniſhments, as the uſe of them is more frequent, and the conſequences may be as dangerous.

To make reproofs uſeful, there are in my opinion three things principally to be conſidered, the ſubject, the time, and the manner of making them.

#### I. *The ſubject of a reprimand.*

It is a very common miſtake to uſe reprimand for the ſlighteſt faults, and ſuch as are almoſt unavoidable in children, which takes away all their force, and fruſtrates all their advantage. For they accuſtom themſelves to them, are no longer affected with them, and even make a jeſt of them. I don't forget what I have already quoted from Quintilian, that the ſureſt way for a maſter to avoid puniſhing children often, is frequently to admoniſh them, *quo ſæpius monuerit, hoc rarius caſtigabit.* But I make a great difference between admonitions and reprimands. The firſt favours leſs of the authority of a maſter than the affection of a friend. They are always attended with an air and tone of gentleneſs, which gives them a more agreeable reception; and for this reaſon they may more frequently be uſed. But as reprimands always ſhock ſelf-love, and often aſſume an air and language of ſeverity, they ſhould be reſerved for more conſiderable faults, and conſequently be more ſeldom uſed.

#### II. *The time of reprimanding.*

The maſter's prudence conſiſts in carefully ſtudying and watching for the favourable moment, when the mind of the child ſhall be moſt diſpoſed to improve by correction. This is what Virgil ſo elegantly calls

*Mulcet*

[s] *Molles aditus, molliſſima fandi tempora*; and wherein he places the addreſs of a negotiation, *Quis rebus dexter modus.*

Do not therefore reprimand a child, ſays M. de Fenelon, in his firſt emotion, or your own. If you do it in yours, he will find that you have been governed by humour and inclination, and not by reaſon and friendſhip, and you will inevitably loſe your authority. If you chide him immediately, his mind is not at liberty enough to own his fault, to conquer his paſſion, and perceive the importance of your advice. You likewiſe expoſe the child to loſing the reſpect he owes you. Shew him always that you are maſter of yourſelf; and nothing will let him ſee it better than your patience. Watch a favourable opportunity for ſeveral days to time a correction well, if neceſſary.

What would any one ſay, ſays [t] M. Nicole, ſpeaking of the duty of brotherly correction, what would they ſay of a ſurgeon, who in treating an impoſthume, ſhould ſurprize the patient, by giving him a blow with his fiſt upon the part affected, and that before the impoſthume was ſufficiently ripened by preparatory remedies, to be lanced, or the ſick perſon diſpoſed for ſo painful an operation? We ſhould doubtleſs ſay, he was a very imprudent and unſkilful man. It is eaſy to apply this compariſon to the ſubject I am treating of.

### III. *The manner of reprimanding.*

The ſame M. Nicole, in the ſame paſſage, ſhews how difficult it is to give corrections and reprimands. The cauſe of this difficulty is, becauſe they ſet before men what they care not for ſeeing, and attack ſelf-love in the deareſt and moſt ſenſible part, where it never gives way without great reluctance and oppoſition. We love ourſelves as we are, and would have reaſon for doing ſo. Thus we are careful to juſtify

[s] Æn. lib. iv. ver. 393, & 425.
[t] Evang. du Mardi de la troiſieme Sem. de Car.

ourſelves in our faults by various deceitful colours; and it muſt not ſeem ſtrange, that men ſhould be diſpleaſed with being contradicted and condemned, as it is an attack at the ſame time upon the reaſon which is deceived, and the heart which is corrupted.

This is properly the foundation of the care and caution which is required in correction and reprimand. We muſt leave nothing for a child to diſcern in us, that may hinder the effect of it. [u] We muſt avoid raiſing his ill-will by the ſeverity of our expreſſions, his anger by exaggerations, or his pride by expreſſions of contempt.

We muſt not heap upon him ſuch a multitude of reproofs, as may deprive him of the hope of being able to correct the faults he is reproached with. It might be adviſeable likewiſe not to tell a child his fault, without adding ſome means of amending it. For correction, when it is ſharp, is apt to occaſion chagrin and diſcouragement.

We muſt avoid giving him any occaſion to think that we are prejudiced; leſt he ſhould thence take occaſion to defend the faults laid to his charge, and to attribute our admonitions to our prejudice.

Neither muſt there be any room left for him to believe, that they are occaſioned by any intereſt or particular paſſion, or indeed by any other motive than that of his good.

[w] We are ſometimes obliged, ſays Tully, to raiſe our voice a little in correction, and to uſe ſomewhat ſharper expreſſions, but this ſhould be very ſeldom; as phyſicians make uſe of certain remedies only in extremities. We ſhould beſides be careful to avoid all anger and ſeverity in theſe reproaches, for they can be of no ſervice, and the child ſhould ſee, that whatever ſharpneſs we expreſs in our reproofs, it is with regret, and only for his good.

[u] Omnis animadverſio & caſtigatio contumeliâ vacare debet. Cic. lib. i. de Offic. n. 88.

[w] Offic. lib. i. n. 136, 137.

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We may conclude that reprimands have had all the ſucceſs that can be expected from them, when they bring a boy to a ſincere confeſſion of his faults, to deſire that he may be told of them, and to receive the inſtructions that are given him with docility. [x] He has already made a great progreſs, who is deſirous of doing it. It is a certain mark of a ſolid change, to have our eyes open to the imperfections, which before were unknown to us; as it is a reaſon to hope well of a ſick perſon, when he begins to be ſenſible of his ailment.

[y] There are ſome children of ſo happy and ſo tractable a temper, that it ſuffices to ſhew them what they muſt do, and without ſtanding in need of long inſtructions from a maſter, they ſhall ſeize upon what is good and honeſt at the firſt ſignal, and give themſelves up entirely to it, *Rapacia virtutis ingenia.* [z] One would think they had in them ſome ſecret ſparks of every virtue, which in order to unfold themſelves and catch fire, require only a ſlight blaſt, a mere hint. [a] Theſe characters are exceeding rare, and ſeldom want any guides.

[b] There are others, who have indeed a pretty good capacity, but ſeem at firſt of a ſlow apprehenſion, either for want of taking due pains, or becauſe they have been brought up in too tender a manner, and educated in an entire ignorance of their duty, have contracted a great number of ill habits, which are like a ruſt difficult to be rubbed off. A maſter is abſolutely neceſſary to boys of this character, and ſeldom fails of conquering theſe faults, when he ſtrives to do it with mildneſs and patience.

x Senec. Epiſt. 6. & 28. Magna pars eſt profectus, velle proficere.

y Felix ingenium illis fuit, & ſalutaria in tranſitu rapuit.... In ea quæ tradi ſolent, perveniunt ſine longo magiſterio; & honeſta complexi ſunt, cùm primùm audierunt. Senec. Epiſt. 95.

z Omnium honeſtarum rerum ſemina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur; non aliter quàm ſcintilla flatu levi adjuta ignem ſuum explicat. Senec. Epiſt. 94.

a Huc illuc frænis leniter mota flectendus eſt paucis animus ſui rector optimus. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 25.

b Ineſt interim animis voluntas bona, ſed torpet, modò deliciis ac ſitu, modò officii inſcientia. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 2 c.

## ARTICLE the SEVENTH.

*To reaſon with children; to prompt them by the ſenſe of honour; to make uſe of praiſes, rewards, and careſſes.*

I Have already inſinuated theſe methods, which ſhould be the moſt common, and are always the moſt effectual.

I call reaſoning with the boys, the acting always without paſſion and humour, and giving them the reaſon of our behaviour toward them. It is requiſite, ſays M. de Fenelon, to purſue all poſſible means to make the things you require of them agreeable to the children. Have you any thing diſpleaſing to propoſe to them? Let them know, that the pain will ſoon be followed by pleaſure; ſhew them always the uſefulneſs of what you teach them; let them ſee its advantage in regard to the commerce of the world, and the duties of particular ſtations. This, tell them, is to enable you to do well what you are one day to do; 'tis to form your judgment, 'tis to accuſtom you to reaſon well upon all the affairs of life. It is requiſite to ſhew them a ſolid and agreeable end, which may ſupport them in their labour, and never pretend to oblige them to the performance by a dry, abſolute authority.

If the caſe requires puniſhment or chiding, it will be proper to appeal to themſelves as judges, to make them thoroughly ſenſible of the neceſſity of uſing them in that manner, and to demand of them whether they think it poſſible to act otherwiſe. I have been ſometimes ſurprized in conjunctures, where the juſt but grievous ſeverity of their correction, or publick reprimand, might have provoked and exaſperated the ſcholars, to ſee the impreſſion the account I gave them of my conduct has made upon them, and how they

they have blamed themſelves, and allowed that I could not treat them otherwiſe. For I owe the juſtice to moſt part of the boys I have brought up, to own here, that I have almoſt always found them reaſonable, tho' not exempt from faults. Children are capable of hearing reaſon ſooner than is imagined, and they love to be treated like reaſonable creatures from ther infancy. We ſhould keep up in them this good opinion and ſenſe of honour, upon which they pique themſelves, and make uſe of it as much as poſſible, as an univerſal means to bring them to the end we propoſe.

They are likewiſe very much affected with praiſe. It is our duty to make an advantage of this weakneſs, and to endeavour to improve it into a virtue in them. We ſhould run a riſque of diſcouraging them, were we never to praiſe them when they do well; and though we have reaſon to apprehend that commendations may inflame their vanity, we muſt ſtrive to uſe them for their encouragement, without making them conceited. For of all the motives that affect a reaſonable ſoul, there are none more powerful than honour and ſhame; and when we have once brought children to be ſenſible of it, we have gained every thing. They find a pleaſure in being commended and eſteemed, eſpecially by their parents, and thoſe upon whom they depend. If therefore we careſs them and commend them when they do well; if we look coldly and contemptibly upon them when they do ill, and religiouſly obſerve this kind of behaviour towards them; this different treatment will have a much greater effect upon their minds than either threats or puniſhments.

But to make this practice uſeful, there are two things to be obſerved. Firſt, when the parents or maſters are diſpleaſed with a child, and look coldly upon him, it is requiſite that all thoſe who are about him ſhould treat him in the ſame manner, and that he never finds any conſolation in the careſſes of governeſſes or ſervants. For then he is forced to ſubmit, and naturally conceives an averſion for the faults which draw

upon him a general contempt. In the ſecond place, when parents or maſters have ſhewn themſelves diſpleaſed, they muſt be careful, contrary to the common cuſtom, not to reſume immediately the ſame chearfulneſs of countenance, or ſhew the ſame fondneſs to the child as uſual; for he will learn not to mind it, when he knows that chiding is a ſtorm of little or no duration, which he need only ſuffer to paſs by. They muſt not therefore be reſtored to favour without difficulty, and their pardon be deferred till their application to do better has proved the ſincerity of their repentance.

Rewards for the children are not to be neglected, and though they are not any more than praiſes, the principal motive upon which they ſhould act, yet both of them may become uſeful to virtue, and be a powerful incentive to it. It is not an advantge for them to know, that the doing well will in every reſpect be their advantage, and that it is as well their intereſt as duty to execute faithfully what is required of them, either in point of ſtudy or behaviour?

But there is a choice to be made of rewards, and it is a certain rule in this point, though not always ſufficiently conſidered, that we ought never to propoſe under this notion either ornaments and fine clothes, or delicacies in eating, or any other things of that kind; and the reaſon of it is very evident, becauſe in promiſing them ſuch things by way of reward, we teach them to look upon them as good and deſireable in themſelves, and thereby inſtil into them a value for what they ought to deſpiſe; and the ſame may be ſaid of money, the deſire of which is ſo much the more dangerous, as it is more general, and apt to increaſe with age; except as it may be employed in good uſes, it may alſo be looked upon as an inſtrument of virtue, and a means of doing good; under which notion they ſhould be taught to conſider it. I have ſeen a great many ſcholars, who of themſelves have divided their money into three parts, one of which was deſigned for

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the poor, another to buy books, and the third for their diverſions.

Children may be rewarded by innocent plays intermixed with ſome induſtry; by walking abroad, where the converſation may be advantageous; by little preſents which may be a kind of prizes, ſuch as pictures or prints; by books neatly bound; by the ſight of ſuch things as are curious and uncommon in arts and trades; as for inſtance, the manner of making tapeſtry at the Gobelins, of melting of glaſs, painting, and a thouſand other things of that kind. The induſtry of parents and maſters conſiſts in the invention of ſuch rewards, in varying them, and making them deſired and expected; keeping always a certain order, and beginning conſtantly with the moſt ſimple, in order to make them laſt as long as poſſible. But in general they muſt exactly perform what they have promiſed, and make it an indiſpenſible point of honour and duty never to diſappoint their children.

## ARTICLE the EIGHTH.

### *To accuſtom children to a ſtrict obſervance of truth.*

ONE of the vices we muſt carefully correct in children is lying, for which we cannot excite in them too great an averſion and horror. It muſt always be repreſented to them as mean, baſe and ſhameful; as a vice which entirely diſhonours a man, diſgraces him, and places him in the moſt contemptible light, and is not to be ſuffered even in ſlaves. I have elſewhere ſpoke of the manner of puniſhing children, that are ſubject to this fault.

Diſſimulation, cunning and bad excuſes, come very near it, and infallibly lead to it. A child ſhould be told

told that he ſhould rather be pardoned for twenty faults, than a bare diſſimulation of the truth, for hiding one only by bad excuſes. When he frankly confeſſes what he has done, fail not to commend his integrity, and pardon what he has done amiſs without ever reproaching him with it, or ſpeaking to him of it afterwards. If this confeſſion becomes frequent, and grows into a habit only to evade puniſhment, the maſter muſt have leſs regard to it, becauſe it would then be no more than a trick, and not proceed from ſimplicity and ſincerity.

Every thing that the children ſee or hear from their parents or maſters, muſt conduce to make them in love with truth, and give them a contempt for all double dealing. Thus they muſt never make uſe of any falſe pretences to appeaſe them, or to perſuade them to do as they would have them, or either promiſe or threaten any thing without their being ſenſible that the performance will ſoon follow. For by this means they will be taught deceit, to which they have already but too much inclination.

To prevent it, they muſt be accuſtomed not to ſtand in need of it, and be taught to tell ingenuouſly what pleaſes them, or what makes them uneaſy. They muſt be told that tricking always proceeds from a bad diſpoſition; for no body uſes it but with a view to diſſemble; as not being ſuch an one as he ought to be, or from deſiring ſuch things as are not to be permitted; or if they are, from taking diſhoneſt means to come at them. Let the children be made to obſerve how ridiculous ſuch arts are, as they ſee practiſed by others, which have generally a bad ſucceſs, and ſerve only to make them contemptible. Make them aſhamed of themſelves, when you catch them in any diſſimulation. Take from them from time to time what they are fond of, if they have endeavoured to obtain it by any deceit, and tell them they ſhall have it, when they aſk for it plainly and without artifice.

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[illegible] point especially they should be made sensible of the difference. Make them comprehend the difference there is between a child that loves truth and fincerity, upon whose word one may rely, in whom one may fully confide, and who is looked upon as incapable not only of lying and fraud, but of the least dissimulation; and another child, who is always suspected and distrusted, and never believed, even though he speak truth. [d] We should carefully lay before them what Cornelius Nepos observes of Epaminondas, (and Plutarch says the same of Aristides,) that he was so fond of truth that he never told a lie, not even in jest. *Adeo veritatis diligens fuit, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

## ARTICLE the NINTH.

### *To accustom the boys to be polite, cleanly, and punctual.*

GOOD breeding is one of the qualities which parents most desire in their children, and it naturally affects them more than any other. The value they set upon it arises from their conversation with the world, where they find that almost every thing is judged by its outside. In short, the want of politeness takes off very much from the most solid merit, and makes virtue itself seem less estimable and lovely: A rough diamond can never serve as an ornament; it must be polished before it can be set to advantage. We cannot therefore take too much pains to make children civil and well bred.

In talking thus, I do not mean that we should exercise children, or bring them up by rule and method to all the formal ceremonies which are followed in the world. Such narrow little souls are fit only to give them false notions, and fill their minds with a low

[d] Mendax, horrid, se verum Cicero vult videri, qui. [illegible] etiam [illegible] mentiri. [e] Cornelius Nepos in Epam.

vanity. Beſides, this methodical civility, which conſiſts only in forms of inſipid compliments, and the affectation of doing every thing by rule and meaſure, is often more offenſive than a natural ruſticity. We muſt not therefore teize and wrangle much with them about ſuch faults as they may commit in this point. An addreſs not over graceful, a bow ill-made, a hat clumſily taken off, and a compliment ill-turned, may deſerve ſome little notice to be taken of them in an eaſy and gentle manner, but do not deſerve ſharp chiding, or the being made aſhamed before company, and much leſs to be puniſhed with ſeverity. The commerce with the world will ſoon correct theſe petty defects.

But the point is, to go to the principle and root of the evil, and to conquer certain diſpoſitions in the boys, which are directly oppoſite to the rules of ſociety and converſation; ſuch as a ſavage and clowniſh rudeneſs, which makes them heedleſs of what may pleaſe or diſpleaſe thoſe about them; ſelf-love, attentive only to its own convenience and advantage; a haughtineſs and pride, which tempt us to look upon every thing as our due, without our being under any obligation to others; a ſpirit of contradiction and raillery, which blames every thing, and takes pleaſure only in giving pain. Theſe are the faults againſt which we muſt declare open war. Such boys as have been accuſtomed to be complaiſant towards their companions, to oblige them to ſubmit to them upon occaſion, to ſay nothing which may offend them, and not be eaſily offended themſelves at the diſcourſe of others; boys of this character, when they come abroad into the world, will ſoon learn the rules of civility and good-breeding.

It is alſo to be wiſhed, that children ſhould be accuſtomed to neatneſs, order, and exactneſs; that they take care of their dreſs, eſpecially on Sundays and holidays, and ſuch days as they go abroad; that every thing ſhould be ſet in order in their chambers and

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n their tables, and every book put in its place
n they have done with it; that they ſhould be
y to diſcharge their different duty preciſely at
time appointed. This exactneſs is of great im-
ance at all times, and in every ſtation of life.
ll this is to be wiſhed for, but muſt not in my
ion be exacted with ſeverity, nor under pain of
ection. For we muſt always diſtinguiſh the
ts, which ariſe from the levity of their age, from
as flow from indocility and perverſeneſs. I beg
reader's pardon, if ſometimes I take the liberty
uote my own practice, whilſt engaged in the edu-
on of youth. I think I don't do it out of vanity,
only the better to ſhew the uſefulneſs of the ad-
which I give. I brought the boys to be very civil
ich ſtrangers as entered into the quadrangle dur-
their recreation, and almoſt ſcrupulouſly exact in
iring to every exerciſe at the firſt ſound of the
k, but not by menaces or corrections. I uſed to
mend them publickly for their civility to ſtrangers,
complimented me upon it, and for the readineſs
which they quitted their play, becauſe they
w it would pleaſe me. I ſometimes added, that
igh ſome of them were wanting in their little
es, I judged it muſt be through inadvertency,
ch was not ſurprizing in the heat of play. I de-
them to be more careful for the future, and to
ow the example of the greateſt part of their com-
ions; and I ſucceeded better by theſe civilities,
I could have done by all the chiding and me-
es in the world.

—— The celebrated English wit and *bon-vivant*, (ſat Lord Alvanley), attending a dinner in the newly decorated ſaloon of a friend, where the table was ſcantily ſerved with provender, when asked his opinion of the diſplay, replied: "I ſhould like leſs *gilding*, and a little more *carving*."

## ARTICLE the TENTH

### *To make ſtudy agreeable.*

THIS is one of the moſt important points i cation, and at the ſame time one of th difficult: for amongſt a great number of m who in other reſpects are very deſerving, the very few to be found, who are happy enou make their ſcholars fond of ſtudy.

The ſucceſs in this point depends very much firſt impreſſions [a], and it ſhould be the great c maſters, who teach children their letters, to d ſuch a manner, that a child, who is not yet cap being fond of his book, ſhould not take an av to it, and the diſlike continue when he grov For this reaſon, ſays Quintilian, his ſtudy m made a diverſion to him. The maſter muſt p by aſking him little queſtions. He muſt be e raged by commendation, and allowed to ſet value upon himſelf, and be pleaſed with having any thing. Sometimes what he refuſes to learn he taught another, in order to raiſe his jea We muſt enter into little diſputes with him let him think that he is often the better. muſt entice him likewiſe by little rewards, ' children at that age are very fond of.

But the great ſecret, [f] ſays Quintilian farth make children love their books, is to make them of their maſter. In this caſe they willingly pin to him, become docile, ſtrive to pleaſe him, and a pleaſure in his leſſons. They readily recei

[a] Id imprimis cavere oportebit, ne ſtudia qui amare nondum poterit, oderit; & amaritudinem ſemel præceptam, etiam ultra ætatem ad mea retinuerit. Quintil. lib. i. cap. 1.

[f] Diſcipulos id unum m præceptores ſuos non mini ipſa ſtudia ament . . . . . hæc pietas confert ſtudio. lib. ii. cap. 9.

advice and correction, are much affected with his commendation, and ſtrive to merit his friendſhip by a proper diſcharge of their duty. There is implanted in children, as in all mankind, a natural ſpirit of curioſity, or deſire of knowledge and information, of which a good uſe may be made towards rendering their ſtudy agreeable. As every thing is new to them, they are continually aſking queſtions, and enquiring the name and uſe of every thing they ſee. And they ſhould be anſwered without expreſſing any pain or uneaſineſs. Their curioſity ſhould be commended and ſatisfied by clear and expreſs anſwers, without any thing in them deceitful or illuſory; for they will ſoon find it out and take offence at it.

In every art and ſcience, the firſt elements and principles have ſomething dry and diſguſting in them. For which reaſon it is of great ſervice to abridge and facilitate the rudiments of the languages which are taught to children, and to take off from the bitterneſs of them as agreeably as we can.

*Pueris dant cruſtula blandi*
*Doctores, elementa velint ut diſcere prima.*

For the ſame reaſon I think the method of beginning with the explication of authors preferable to that of making exerciſes, becauſe the latter is more painful and tedious, and occaſions the children more anger and correction.

When they are privately brought up, a careful and ſkilful maſter omits nothing that may make ſtudy agreeable to them. He takes their time, ſtudies their taſte, conſults their humour, mingles diverſion with labour, ſeems to leave the choice to them, does not make their ſtudy regular, excites to it ſometimes by refuſing it, and by the ceſſation or rather interruption of it. In a word, he puts on a thouſand ſhapes, and invents a thouſand artifices to compaſs what he aims at.

This

This way in college is not practicable. In a common chamber and a numerous claſs, diſcipline and good order require an uniform rule, and that all ſhould follow it exactly; and herein lies the great difficulty of managing them. A maſter muſt have a good capacity, a great deal of ſkill to guide and direct the reins of ſo many different characters, of which ſome are briſk and impetuous, others ſlow and phlegmatick, ſome want the ſpur, and others the bridle; to manage, I ſay, all theſe diſpoſitions at the ſame time, and yet ſo as to make them all move by concert, and lead all to the ſame point, notwithſtanding this difference of genius. It muſt be owned, that in the buſineſs of education 'tis in this circumſtance the greateſt ability and prudence are required.

This is only to be attained by great gentleneſs, reaſon, moderation, coolneſs and patience. This great principle muſt be always in view; that ſtudy depends upon the will, which admits of no conſtraint. [s] *Studium diſcendi voluntate, quæ cogi non poteſt conſtat.* We may confine the body, make a ſcholar ſit at his deſk againſt his inclination, double his labour by way of puniſhment, force him to finiſh a taſk impoſed on him, and for that end deprive him of his play and recreation; but can labouring thus upon force be properly called ſtudy? And what will follow upon it, but the hatred of both books, learning, and maſters too, very often as long as they live? The will therefore muſt be gained; and this can only be by mildneſs, affectionate behaviour and perſuaſion, and above all by the allurement of pleaſure.

As we are born ſlothful, enemies to labour, and ſtill more to conſtraint, it is not ſurprizing, that as all the pleaſure lies on one ſide, and all the trouble on the other; all the trouble in ſtudy, and all the pleaſure in diverſion; a child ſhould bear the one with impatience, and paſſionately purſue the other. The

[s] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

ſkill of the maſter lies in making ſtudy agreeable, and teaching his ſcholar to find a pleaſure in it. To which end play and recreation may very much contribute. And this we ſhall treat of in the following article.

## ARTICLE the ELEVENTH.

### *To grant the boys reſt and recreation.*

A Great many reaſons oblige us to grant reſt and recreation to children; firſt, the care of their health, which ſhould go before that of knowledge. Now nothing is more prejudicial to it than too long and conſtant an application, that inſenſibly wears and weakens the organs, which in that age are very tender, and incapable of taking great pains. And this gives me an opportunity of adviſing and intreating parents not to puſh their children too much upon ſtudy in their early years, but to deny themſelves the pleaſure of ſeeing them make a figure before their time. [h] For beſides, that theſe ripe fruits ſeldom come to maturity, and their early progreſs reſembles thoſe ſeeds that are caſt upon the ſurface of the earth, which ſpring up immediately, but take no root; nothing is more pernicious to the health of children than theſe untimely efforts, though the ill effect be not immediarely perceived.

If they are prejudicial to the body, they are no leſs dangerous to the mind, [i] which exhauſts itſelf, and grows dull by a continual application, and like

[h] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 2.

[i] Ea quoque, quæ ſenſu carent, ut ſervare vim ſuam poſſint, alterna quiete retenduntur. Ibid.

Ut fertilibus agris non eſt imperandum: citò enim exhauriet illos nunquam intermiſſa fecunditas: ita animorum impetus aſſiduus labor frangit. . . . . Naſcitur ex aſſiduitate laborum, animorum hebetatio quædam & languor. Senec. de Tranq. an. cap. 15.

the

the earth, ſtands in need of a ſtated alternative of labour and reſt, in order to preſerve its force and vigour.

Beſides, as we have already obſerved, the boys, after they have refreſhed themſelves a while, return to their ſtudies with more chearfulneſs and a better heart; and this little relaxation animates them with freſh courage; whereas conſtraint ſhocks and diſheartens them.

I add with Quintilian, and the boys will doubtleſs agree to it, that a moderate inclination for play ſhould not diſpleaſe in them, as it is often a mark of vivacity. In ſhort, can we expect much ardour for ſtudy in a child, who at an age that is naturally briſk and gay, is always heavy, penſive, and indifferent even to its play?

[k] But in this, as in every thing elſe, we muſt uſe diſcretion, and obſerve a medium, which conſiſts in not refuſing them diverſion, leſt they ſhould grow out of love with ſtudy; and in not granting too much, leſt they ſhould contract an habit of idleneſs.

The choice in this point requires ſome care; not that we need be under any concern about procuring them pleaſures, they invent enough of themſelves. It ſuffices to leave them to themſelves, and obſerve them without conſtraint, in order to keep them in temper, when they grow too warm.

The diverſions they love beſt, and which are likewiſe moſt ſuitable to them, are ſuch as are attended with ſome bodily motion. They are ſatisfied, provided they often change place. A ball, a kite, a top, are an high delight to them, as alſo walking and running.

There are plays of ingenuity, wherein inſtruction is mixed with diverſion, which may ſometimes find a place, when the body is leſs diſpoſed for motion, or the time and ſeaſon oblige them to be confined within doors.

[k] Modus tamen ſit remiſſionibus, ne aut odium ſtudiorum faciant negatæ, aut otii conſuetudinem nimiæ. Ibid.

As

As play is designed for a recreation, I question whether we ought commonly to allow the children such as require almost as much application as study. James the first King of Great-Britain, in the instructions he left his son how to govern well, amongst other advice concerning play, forbids him chess, because it is rather a study than a recreation.

Plays of hazard, such as cards and dice, which are now become so fashionable, deserve still more to be forbid the boys. 'Tis a shame to our age, that rational persons cannot pass a few hours together without cards in their hands. It will be well for the scholars, if they carry from college, and long retain an ignorance and contempt for all diversions of this nature.

It is a principle in education which cannot be too much inculcated into parents and masters, to inspire children in general with a taste for such things as are simple. They should neither feed upon delicate dishes, nor be entertained with elegant diversions. The temper of the soul is corrupted as well as the taste, by the pursuit of lively and poignant pleasures; and as the use of ragoos makes the common food that is plainly dressed seem tasteless and insipid, so great emotions of the soul make the ordinary diversions of youth tedious and insipid.

We see parents, says M. de Fenelon, that are otherwise persons of good sentiments, carry their children themselves to the publick shews, and pretend by thus mixing poison with healthful food, to give them a good education; and would look upon it as cruel and austere to deny them this medley of good and evil. He must be very little acquainted with human nature, who does not see that this sort of diversion cannot fail of creating a disgust in the boys for the serious and busy life, for which however they are intended, and of making them consider plain and innocent pleasures as insipid and insupportable.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE the TWELFTH.

### *To train up the boys to virtue by diſcourſe and example.*

WHAT I have ſaid ſhews that this is the indiſpenſible duty of maſters. As it is often requiſite to fortify the children beforehand againſt the diſcourſes and examples of their parents, as well as againſt the falſe prejudices and falſe principles advanced in common converſation, and authorized by an almoſt general practice; [l] they ſhould be to them that guardian and monitor which Seneca ſo often ſpeaks of, to preſerve or deliver them from popular errors, and to inſpire them with ſuch principles as are conformable to right and ſound reaſon. It is requiſite therefore that they have a perfect ſenſe of them themſelves, and think and talk always with wiſdom and truth. [m] For nothing can be ſaid before children without effect, and they regulate their fears and deſires by the diſcourſes they hear.

It is for this reaſon that Quintilian, as we have already obſerved, adviſes maſters to ſpeak often to their diſciples of honeſty and juſtice. And Seneca tells us the wonderful effects which the lively exhortations of his maſter produced upon him. The paſſage is perfectly beautiful. [n] "It is ſcarce to be imagined, ſays "he, how great an impreſſion ſuch diſcourſes are ca-

l Non licet ire recte via: trahunt in pravum parentes, trahunt ſervi. . . . . Sit ergo aliquis cuſtos, & aurem ſubinde pervellat, abigatque tumores, & reclamet populis laudantibus. . . . Itaque monitionibus crebris, opiniones, quæ nos circumſonant, compeſcamus. Senec. Ep. 94.

m Nulla ad aures puerorum vox impune perfertur. Nocent, qui optant; nocent, qui execrantur. Nam & horum imprecatio falſos nobis metus inſerit, & illorum amor male docet bene optando. Ibid.

n Veriſimile non eſt quantum proficiat talis oratio. . . Facillimè enim tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honeſti rectique amorem. Adhuc docilibus leviterque corruptis injiciat manum veritas, ſi advocatum idoneum nacta eſt. Senec. Epiſt. 108.

"pable

"pable of making. For the tender minds of youth "are eaſily inclined to the ſide of virtue. As they "are tractable and not much infected by corruption, "they eaſily reſign themſelves to truth, provided an "underſtanding advocate pleads its cauſe before them "and ſpeaks in its favour. For my own part, when "I heard Attalus inveigh againſt vice, error and irre-"gularity, I pitied mankind, and thought nothing "great and valuable, but a man that was capable of "thinking as he did. When he undertook to ſet "off the advantages of poverty, and to prove that "whatever is more than neceſſary, can be looked "upon only as a uſeleſs charge and an inconvenient "burden, he made me wiſh to go poor out of "his ſchool. When he exclaimed againſt pleaſure, "commended chaſtity of body, temperance of diet, "and purity of mind, I found myſelf inclined to re-"nounce the moſt lawful and allowable pleaſures."

There is ſtill another ſhorter and ſurer way of conducting the boys to virtue, and this is by example. For the language of action is far ſtronger and more perſuaſive than that of words. [*] *Longum iter eſt per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla.* It is a great happineſs for boys to have maſters, whoſe lives are a continual inſtruction to them, whoſe actions never contradict their leſſons, who do what they adviſe, and ſhun what they blame, and who are ſtill more admired when ſeen, than when they are heard.

Something ſeems ſtill to be wanting to what I have ſaid in this chapter concerning the different duties of a maſter; and yet parents would certainly conceive themſelves very happy, if they found ſuch for their children; however I deſire the reader to obſerve, that all I have hitherto ſaid has been extracted ſolely from Paganiſm; that Lycurgus, Plato, Tully, Seneca, and Quintilian have lent me their thoughts, and ſupplied the rules, which I have laid down; that what I have borrowed from other authors is neither out of their

[*] Senec. Epiſt. 6. 52.

ſphere, nor above the maxims and notions of the Heathens: Something therefore is ſtill wanting to the duties of a maſter, and this remains to be treated under the laſt article.

## ARTICLE the THIRTEENTH.

### *Piety, religion, and zeal for the childrens ſalvation.*

[p] ST. Auguſtin ſays, that though Tully's treatiſe, intitled Hortenſius, was very agreeable to him, and the reading of it had paved the way to his converſion, by inſpiring him with an eager deſire after wiſdom, there was notwithſtanding ſtill ſomething wanting, becauſe he did not find the name of Chriſt in it; and that whatever did not bear that ſacred name, however well conceived, however elegantly wrote, and however true it might be, did not entirely charm him. I think likewiſe that my reader ſhould not be wholly ſatisfied, but ſtill find ſomething wanting in what I have written concerning the duty of maſters, as they do not find in it the name of Chriſt, and diſcover no footſteps of Chriſtianity in the precepts, which relate to the education of Chriſtian children.

I have deſignedly done this, to ſhew how blameable we ſhould be, if we contented ourſelves with what we have a right to demand from heathen maſters; or if we ſhould not go even ſo far as they. In ſhort, Chriſtianity is the ſoul and ſum of all the duties I have

[p] Ille liber mutavit affectum meum, & vota mea ac deſideria fecit alia . . . Immemoh[illegible] ſapientiæ concupiſcebam æſtu cordis incredibili; & [illegible]re jam cœperam, ut ad te rediremi . . . Fortiter excitabat ſermone illo & accendebar, & ardebam: & hoc ſolum me in tanta flagrantia refrangebat quòd nomen Chriſti non erat ibi. . . . Quicquid ſine hoc nomine fuiſſet, quamvis literatum & expolitum & veridicum, non me totum rapiebat, Conf. lib. iii. cap. 4.

hitherto

hitherto ſpoke of. It is Chriſtianity which animates them, which exalts and enobles them, which brings them to perfection, and gives them a merit, whereof God alone is the principle and motive, and of which God alone can be the juſt reward.

What then is a Chriſtian maſter, who is entruſted with the education of youth? He is a man, into whoſe hands Chriſt has committed a number of children, whom he has redeemed with his blood, and for whom he has laid down his life, in whom he dwells, as in his houſe and temple; whom he conſiders as his members, as his brethren and coheirs, of whom he will make ſo many Kings and Prieſts, who ſhall reign and ſerve God with him and by him to all eternity. And for what end has he committed them to his care? Is it barely to make them poets, orators, and men of learning? Who dare preſume to ſay, or even to think ſo? He has committed them to their care, in order to preſerve in them the precious and ineſtimable depoſit of innocence, which he has imprinted in their ſouls by baptiſm, in order to make them true Chriſtians. This is the true end and deſign of the education of children, to which all the reſt are but the means. Now how great and noble an addition does the office of a maſter receive from ſo honourable a commiſſion? But what care, what attention and vigilance, and above all, how great a dependance upon Chriſt does it require?

In this laſt circumſtance lies all the merit, and at the ſame time all the conſolation of maſters. They have need in the government of children, of capacity, prudence, patience, mildneſs, reſolution and authority. How great a conſolation is it to a maſter to be fully perſuaded, that Chriſt gives all theſe qualifications, and grants them to the humble and perſevering petitioner, and that he may ſay to him with the Prophet, *Thou, O Lord, art my patience and my ſtrength, thou art my light and my council, thou ſubdueſt the little people under me whom thou haſt committed to my care? Leave me not to myſelf one moment, but grant me, for the direction of*

*others and my own ſalvation, the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding, the ſpirit of council and ſtrength, the ſpirit of knowledge and piety, and above all the ſpirit of the fear of the Lord.*

When a maſter has received this ſpirit, his work is done. This ſpirit is a maſter within, which dictates to him and teaches him all that is requiſite, and upon every occaſion points out to him his duty, and makes him practiſe it. One great mark of his having received it, is, that he finds in himſelf a great zeal for the ſalvation of the children; that he is affected with their dangers, and touched with their faults; that he frequently reflects upon the value of the innocence, which they have received in baptiſm; how difficult it is to recover it when once it is loſt; what account muſt he give to Chriſt, who has placed him as a centinel to guard it, if the enemy carries off ſo precious a treaſure, whilſt he is aſleep. A good maſter muſt apply to himſelf thoſe words, which God was continually repeating in the ears of Moſes, the conductor of his people, "[q] Carry them in thy boſom, as a nurſe beareth "the ſucking child." *Porta eos in ſinu tuo, ſicut portare ſolet nutrix infantulum.* He muſt experience ſomewhat of the tenderneſs and concern of [r] St. Paul for the Galatians, for whom he felt the pains of child-"birth, till Chriſt was formed in them." *Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formatur Chriſtus in vobis.*

I cannot avoid applying here to the maſters ſome of the inſtructions, which are given in a [s] letter to a ſuperior upon her obligations, nor too earneſtly exhort them to read that letter with care, which ſuits ſo well with their circumſtances.

1. The firſt means of preſerving the talent, which has been committed to your care, and to increaſe it, is to labour with freſh zeal to procure your own ſanctification. You are God's inſtrument towards theſe children; you muſt therefore be ſtrictly united to him.

[q] Numb. xi. 12.
[r] Gal. iv. 19.
[s] Lettres de morale & de pieté, de Mr. Jacq. Eſtienne, tom. 1.

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You are the channel, and therefore you ſhould be filled. It is your part to draw down bleſſings upon others; you muſt not therefore turn them aſide from falling upon your own head.

2. The ſecond means is not to expect fruit if you do not labour in the name of Chriſt, that is, as he himſelf laboured in the ſanctification of men. † He began with being the example of all the virtues he has required from them. His humility and gentleneſs were aſtoniſhing. He gave his life and blood for his ſheep. See here the example of ſhepherds and diſcern your own. Never take your eyes from this divine model. Bring forth thus, thus train up your diſciples, who are now become your children. Think leſs of chiding them, than of obtaining their love; and think only of gaining their love, in order to plant the love of Chriſt in their hearts, and after that, if poſſible, to blot you out of their minds.

3. The third means is to expect nothing from your own care, your own prudence, your own light and labour, but only from the grace of God. He rarely bleſſes thoſe, who are not humble. We ſpeak in vain to the ears, if he ſpeaks not to the heart. We water and plant in vain, unleſs he gives the increaſe.

We think to do wonders by multiplying words. We think to ſoften the hardneſs of the heart by ſharp reproaches, by humiliations and corrections. This may be uſeful ſometimes, but it muſt be the grace of God that makes it ſo; and when we rely too much upon theſe outward means, we lay a ſecret obſtacle in the way of grace, which is juſtly refuſed to human preſumption and an haughty confidence.

4. If your diſcourſe and cares have the bleſſing of God, do not attribute the ſucceſs of them to yourſelf. Do not give ear to the ſecret voice of your heart, which applauds you for it. Hearken not to the commendations of men, who miſlead you. If your labour

† He began to do and teach. Acts i. 1. Mighty in word and in deed. Luke xxiv. 19.

ſeems ineffectual, be not diſcouraged, nor deſpair, either of yourſelf or others; but ſtill perſiſt in your duty. The moments, which God has reſerved to himſelf, are known only to him. He will give you in the morning the reward of your labour in the night. It has ſeemed unprofitable, but not through your fault; the care was recommended to you, and not the ſucceſs.

# PART the SECOND.

## *Particular duties relating to the education of Youth.*

THE different duties I have to examine in this ſecond part, relate to the principal of the college, the regents, the parents, the preceptors and ſcholars.

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the duties of the Principal.*

THE principal of a college is as the ſoul of it, which puts every thing in motion, and preſides over all. To him belongs the care of eſtabliſhing good order, of maintaining diſcipline, of watching in general over ſtudies and manners. It is eaſy to comprehend how ſerviceable ſuch an office is to the publick, and at the ſame time how difficult to diſcharge. It were to be wiſhed, one would think, that he who is placed at the head of the profeſſors ſhould be the principal in every reſpect; that he might in every thing ſerve as an adviſer and pattern; that he ſhould be a perfect maſter of every branch of learning youth are taught, grammar, the belles lettres, rhetorick and philoſo-

philoſophy, that he might be capable of judging of the ability of the maſters, and progreſs of the ſcholars. But the want of ſome of theſe points of knowledge may be ſupplied by other qualifications, which are ſtill more eſſential, and neceſſary. A houſe is happy, when it pleaſes God to ſet over it a man, who has the ſpirit of government, an amicable and ſociable diſpoſition, a ſolid judgment, an humble and prudent docility, and a perfect diſintereſtedneſs; one who enters upon his ſtation only out of religious views, and not through any carnal motives. The ſucceſs is then infallible. For we may truly ſay without fear of being miſtaken, as experience has proved, that it is the merit of the principal, which contributes moſt to the reputation of a college.

There are four or five things eſpecially, which are the object of the principal's pains and care; diet, ſtudy, diſcipline, education and religion. I ſhall explain every one of theſe parts in particular, and with as much brevity as I can.

## ARTICLE the FIRST.

### *Of the diet of the Students.*

A Principal in a college is like a father in a family. He muſt therefore have the attention and tenderneſs of a father, and employ his firſt cares upon the health of the children, which is the baſis and foundation of all the reſt. This depends very much upon their diet, which joined to motion and exerciſe, ſerves to make the children grow, to ſtrengthen them, to give them a good conſtitution, and enable them to ſupport the fatigues of the different ſtations, to which Providence ſhall one day call them. To this end the diet muſt be plain, but good, ſolid and regular.

The means of having the food such as it should be, to me an essential principle in point of œconomy, is to provide the best in every kind, the best bread, the best meat, the best oil, the best butter, &c. and I have known by experience, that the expence would not be the greater, especially if care be taken to pay regularly for them, in which case we are sure to be always well served.

One obstacle to the rule I here lay down, would be an earnest desire in the principal to heap up wealth. But I should not suspect any body of a disposition so remote from the character of a man of learning and honour, who knows better than any other, [w] that it would be a disgrace to his office to exercise it out of any mean views of interest, and to set a price upon his care in the education of youth. It is very fit that the pains a man takes in this way, which are the most irksome and troublesome part of the government of a college, should meet with a temporal reward. A principal, in order to do things as he ought, and behave with generosity, should have wherewithal to live at his ease, but the way of attaining it, as several have experienced, is to spare nothing for the good entertainment of the students.

[v] It is not enough, that the principal himself be of a disinterested and generous disposition; he must inspire the same sentiments into those, who under his name and in his stead are intrusted with the œconomy, and set a strict watch over their conduct, for which he is answerable to the publick. A sure sign, that he sincerely desires to discharge his duty in this point is, the allowing the masters a full liberty of complaining to

[v] Quis ignorat quin id longe sit honestissimum, ac liberalibus disciplinis, & illo quem exipimus animo dignissimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem? Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 7.

[w] His in rebus jam te usus ipse profecto erudivit, nequaquam satis esse ipsum hasce habere virtutes, sed circumspicienda diligenter, et in hac custodia, providendum non unum sed omnes in tuis sociis & civibus, & in illis etiam præstare videare. Cic. Epist. ad Quint. fratr. lib. i.

him upon this article, as well as all the reſt, to call upon them publickly to do it, to declare that it will be a pleaſure to him to have them behave in that manner, to receive their remonſtrances ſo as to convince them of it, and eſpecially to make that uſe of their information which juſtice and prudence may require from him. To ſpare the maſters a trouble that ſuch a ſtep muſt naturally cauſe, he may appoint ſome perſon in the college as the vice-principal, or any other to whom they can more freely and readily expreſs themſelves; and this he may be ſure is the only way of keeping people from talking.

The maſters, on their ſide, muſt ſhew a great deal of moderation upon this article, and never complain at table of the meat ſerved up, that they may not accuſtom their ſcholars to too great a delicacy in eating and drinking, nor authorize, by their example, a ſpirit of murmuring and complaining, which is of no uſe but to ſow diviſion and foment diſſatisfaction in a college. They muſt remember that how careful and well diſpoſed ſoever a principal is, it is impoſſible but in a large houſhold ſome ſmall faults and negligences muſt eſcape, which the prudence and charity of the maſters ſhould overlook and conceal.

To good diet ſhould be joined neatneſs, which exalts its value, and is a kind of ſeaſoning to it. The linen ſhould be white, the diſhes clean, the halls where they eat regularly ſwept every day after dinner, and every thing conſtantly ranged in its place. [x] The ſtatutes of the univerſity deſcend to very minute particulars upon this article, and ſhew how important they hold it to be careful in this point. A principal therefore cannot conſider it as unworthy of his care, and muſt be able to ſay of himſelf what we read in Horace,

[y] *Hæc ego procurare & idoneus imperor, & non*
*Invitus: ne turpe toral, ne ſordida mappa*

x Stat. 13. Append. y Epiſt. 5. Lib. 1.

*Corrugat nares; ne non & cantharus, & lanx*
*Oſtendat tibi te.*

The ſame poet, in another paſſage obſerves, that as this neatneſs requires no expence, but only a little care and exactneſs, negligence in this point is unpardonable.

[z] *Vilibus in ſcopis, in mappis, in ſcobe, quantus*
*Conſiſtit ſumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.*

## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *Of the Studies.*

AS the choice of the regents depends ſolely upon the principal, we may ſay for this reaſon, that the ſucceſs of the ſtudies depends upon him. This choice is one of the moſt conſiderable parts of his office, and has the greateſt conſequences, either with reference to the publick, or to the perſon of the principal himſelf.

How great an advantage is it to youth; how great an honour to the univerſity, when a principal prefers ſuch regents, as are diſtinguiſhed by their learning, as are famed abroad by their compoſitions or publick actions; and to theſe ſhining qualities add others no leſs neceſſary, the talent of teaching and governing, authority, probity and piety? But how great a burden does he lay upon himſelf, if through human views he nominates ſuch regents, as are incapable of diſcharging their functions? All the good which a better choice had produced will be objected to him, and all the ill which ſhall follow upon an imprudent and raſh nomination laid to his charge.

To avoid this misfortune, he muſt endeavour to caſt his eyes upon ſuch, as God deſigns for employments,

[z] Sat. 4. lib. ii.

that

that is, to whom he has given qualifications neceſſary to diſcharge them; otherwiſe it is to deſpiſe his gifts, and reject what he has choſen. The univerſity, in allowing the principals the privilege of electing regents, enjoins them to be fully aſſured of their capacity, and ſtill more of their probity, that they may be in a condition to inſtruct youth in learning, and to form their manners, [a] *Gymnaſiarchæ ad docendam & regendam juventutem pædagogas & magiſtros probatæ vitæ & doctrinæ recipiant & admittant . . . quorum mores imprimis ſpectandi, ut pueri ab his & literas ſimul diſcant, & bonis moribus imbuantur.*

Neither fleſh, nor blood, nor country, muſt be conſulted in ſuch a choice, nor any thing but the publick advantage. Were it allowable to compare great things with ſmall, one would exhort the principal to call to mind a beautiful expreſſion of a Roman Emperor, and imitate his conduct. I mean Galba, when he adopted Piſo. Auguſtus, ſays he to him, ſought for a ſucceſſor in his own family, but I have ſought for one in the whole empire. [b] *Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit, ego in republica.* [c] We ſhould look upon him as our neareſt relation and beſt friend, who has the moſt merit, according to the beautiful expreſſion of Pliny. Solicitation, and the recommendation of great men, ſhould have no place here; and it is upon theſe occaſions that he muſt ſhew an inflexible reſolution, by repreſenting to himſelf, how great an injuſtice and breach of truſt he ſhould be guilty of, if he ſacrificed the eſſential intereſt of ſo many families, that have actually confided to him what they hold moſt dear, to his complaiſance for a private perſon.

We know how many excellent members M. Gobinet brought into the college du Pleſſis. He took pains to go in queſt of them himſelf, and paid regard only

a Stat. Facult. Art.

b Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 15.

c An tu ſummæ poteſtatis hæredem tantùm intra domum tuam quæras? Non per totam civitatem circumferas oculos, & hunc tibi proximum, hunc conjunctiſſimum exiſtimes, quem optimum invenerit? Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

to merit, and never to recommendation alone. The famous M. Lenglet having read a copy of verſes, which he found by chance upon M. Gobinet's table, told him that the author, whom he did not know, might become an excellent poet, if to his natural genius he added the ſtudy of Virgil. This was enough for that worthy principal, after he had enquired into the other qualifications of the young man, to make him a regent. It was M. Herſan, who has done ſo much honour to the univerſity.

It might be of great ſervice to a principal to train up himſelf good ſubjects in his college, and prepare them early for the regency. When they are thus ſeen to grow up under his eyes, he muſt be far better acquainted with them both as to their capacity, and what is ſtill more eſſential, their morals and diſpoſition. I ſhall reſume this matter, and ſpeak more fully to it at the concluſion of this article.

It is not ſufficient to have made a good choice, he muſt keep up to it thro' all the reſt of his conduct. The great ſkill of a principal lies in gaining the affection of the regents, in making himſelf valued and beloved by them, and acquiring their confidence, which can only be obtained by a civil and obliging treatment, remote from all haughtineſs and pride. For he muſt remember that the prevailing character in men of letters, is the love of liberty, I mean an honeſt liberty directed by reaſon.

Beſides what depends upon the regents, the principal may contribute very much of himſelf to the advancement of ſtudy, by raiſing an emulation in the claſſes, from the frequent viſits he ſhall make them, to take an account of their progreſs, to encourage the good ſcholars by commendation, to diſtribute rewards and prizes amongſt them from time to time, to excite the weak and indifferent to take pains, and univerſally to confirm the authority and good views of the regents.

The diſtribution of prizes, which is ſolemnly made at the end of the year, is one of the moſt effectual

means

means to excite and keep up the emulation I am ſpeaking of. The care of this belongs to the principal, and of all the expences he is at, this is the beſt employed. It were to be wiſhed, as I have already obſerved, that his revenue might admit of wherewithal to do it without inconvenience to himſelf; and I admire the generoſity of thoſe, who having no penſioners, or but very few, do notwithſtanding diſtribute prizes at the end of the year, as though they were very rich.

That this diſtribution of prizes may produce its full effect, it muſt be made with great equity, without favour or affection. It depends upon the principal, whether he will give prizes or no; but when they are once propoſed he is no longer at liberty. They are due and of right belong to merit, and cannot under any pretence whatſoever be refuſed without manifeſt injuſtice. Here places are regulated not by birth or riches, but by knowledge and underſtanding. The plebeian is upon a level with the prince, and uſually very much above him; nor does any thing more contribute to make learning flouriſh in a college, than the reputation of an exact and ſtrict juſtice in the diſtribution of places and prizes.

I return according to my promiſe, to the choice of regents. The ſureſt way of ſucceeding in it, as I have known ſeveral principals practiſe it with ſucceſs, is to make choice of certain poor ſcholars in the claſſes, who are obſerved to have genius and good inclinations, to bring them up at their own expence, to have a particular eye over their conduct and ſtudies; and when they have finiſhed them, to commit ſome few ſcholars to their care, in order to prepare them for the office by inſtructing them; to oblige them from time to time to compoſe in verſe and proſe, and thereby enable them to enter into the regency, when occaſion offers.

This expence is not very great, and may be attended with good conſequences. The great advantage a principal may expect from it is to draw down the bleſſing of God upon his college, and this he has great need

need of. For it muſt be owned, that generally ſpeaking there is a kind of curſe upon the rich and riches, which we muſt endeavour to avert, by mingling ſome poor ſcholars among the children of the rich, that may draw upon him the care and protection of him, who declares himſelf throughout the whole Scripture, the Protector and Father of the poor.

I queſtion whether a man of learning and probity can have a more refined ſatisfaction, than that of having contributed by his care and liberality to the producing of young men, who afterwards become able profeſſors, and by their extraordinary talents do honour to the univerſity. This ſatisfaction, in my opinion, is far improved, when it proceeds from a grateful diſpoſition, and theſe ſervices are done by way of acknowledgement, and paid as a kind of debt, in return for ſuch as have been received in a like ſituation. For we muſt not be aſhamed to own, that the moſt excellent members often ſpring from the boſom of poverty, as Horace obſerves, ſpeaking of the greateſt men in the Roman republick.

[d] *Hunc, & incomptis Curium capillis*
*Utilem bello tulit, & Camillum*
*Sæva paupertas:*

## ARTICLE the THIRD.

### *Of the diſcipline of the College.*

IT is the buſineſs of principals, by their place and title, to keep a watchful eye over the general diſcipline of the colleges. [e] It belongs to them to examine the ſcholars, in order to place them in the claſſes, for which they are fit. [f] It is their duty to take an ac-

[d] Fabricium. Hor. Od. 12. lib. i.
[e] Stat. 13. Facult. Art.
[f] Stat. 17.

count

count every week how they have behaved; 'tis theirs to agree with the profeſſors, what authors are to be explained in the claſſes. [g] They are obliged to ſee the ſtatutes of the univerſity exactly obſerved, and the regulations of the faculties of arts relating to the diſcipline of colleges and claſſes, ſuch, for inſtance, as that of fixing holidays, and the times of entering into and quitting the claſſes, which was lately revived and authorized by parliament; and it is for this reaſon the [h] univerſity enjoins them to read over theſe ſtatutes and regulations twice a year in the preſence of all the maſters and ſcholars.

This laſt ordinance is very judicious, but not obſerved with ſufficient exactneſs. To make the execution of it more eaſy, ſuch ſtatutes and regulations as have been judged moſt eſſential to diſcipline, have been ſeparately printed and read over by ſome profeſſors every year in their claſſes. Several others might be added to them, which have ſince been made, and it might be proper to reprint.

I ſhall begin this article with the principal's duty towards the ſcholars of the houſe. What I ſhall afterwards ſay, likewiſe belongs, in ſome meaſure, and is common to them with the reſt of the ſcholars; but there is a peculiar care due to them from the principal. The houſe is properly theirs, and the colleges originally were founded for them. This the principal ſhould always have in mind, and never forget the pious motives of the founders, who have dedicated part of their ſubſtance to ſo ſacred an uſe. They were for the moſt part high and mighty lords in their time, cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, chancellors, princes, and ſometimes crowned heads. Their memory ſhould be as dear and precious to a principal, as their perſons would be, if they were actually in place and credit. In reſpect and gratitude to theſe illuſtrious founders, who are always living for him, he muſt behave to the ſcholars of the houſe with the affection and tenderneſs

[g] Stat. 24. [h] Stat. 76.

of

of a father, procure them all the temporal and ſpiritual aſſiſtance in his power, take the utmoſt pains to enable them to fill the places worthily, to which Divine Providence ſhall call them, and eſpecially hinder the children of the rich from expreſſing a contempt for them, and to this end muſt himſelf ſhew them great value and conſideration. I have never obſerved that the penſioners have been offended, that upon certain occaſions the ſcholars of the houſe were ſet before them, and by way of honour preferred to the firſt places; but then theſe ſhould not value themſelves too much upon it, nor forget that it is from their poverty that they are ſcholars of the houſe, and therefore they ſhould behave with reſpect, obedience, and docility, and above all with humility; for nothing is more inſupportable than poverty and pride: [i] *My ſoul hateth . . . . a poor man that is proud.* Upon theſe conditions we cannot expreſs too great friendſhip towards the ſcholars of the houſe. When a principal has been one of them himſelf, as very frequently happens, he is the more inclined to favour them, and is apt to apply to himſelf this verſe in Virgil,

[k] *Non ignara mali miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.*

Or rather he applies to himſelf the command, which God ſo often in Scripture gives the Iſraelites, of taking care of the ſtrangers, becauſe they had been ſtrangers themſelves. [l] *Love ye therefore the ſtranger, for ye were ſtrangers in the land of Egypt.*

One of the things which contribute moſt to eſtabliſh the reputation of a college, is an exact and uniform diſcipline. There are many parents indeed, which almoſt blindly determine upon the choice of a college, but there are many alſo who behave otherwiſe, and who look upon the giving their children a Chriſtian education, as the firſt and moſt eſſential part of their duty, and therefore devote all their care and application to that. Now what determines ſuch parents in

i Eccl. xxv. 4. k Æn. lib. i. ver. 634. l Deut. x. 9.

favour-

favour of a college is the knowledge they have of the good diſcipline obſerved in it.

The whole care of a principal is faithfully to diſcharge his duty without being uneaſy about the ſucceſs. A little honour ſuffices to induce him never to make an intereſt for any penſioner. This would be to diſparage and diſgrace his profeſſion, and confound it with the employment of hirelings and mechanicks, who would many of them bluſh at ſuch a proceeding. It ſhould be looked upon as an advantage to be admitted into his college, and it is one indeed to be placed in a houſe, where the youth are carefully brought up, and no ſenſible parent will ever think otherwiſe. It would likewiſe in my opinion be prudent not blindly to receive all the ſcholars that ſhould be offered, but firſt to be informed of their manners and characters, eſpecially when they are ſomewhat grown up, and come from ſome other college or boarding-houſe.

But the moſt important point of diſcipline is never to ſuffer any ſcholar to remain in college that is capable of being prejudicial to others, either by corrupting the purity of their morals, or by inſpiring them with a ſpirit of diſcontent and rebellion. In theſe two caſes we may without ſcruple affirm the rule, I am ſpeaking of, ſhould be inviolably obſerved. To be convinced of it, we need only change the object, and aſk one's ſelf, whether one would leave a child that was ſick of a contagious diſtemper with the reſt. Is the infection of the morals then leſs dangerous, or attended with leſs fatal conſequences? Can a principal, who has a juſt ſenſe of religion, ſupport this terrible, but true reflection, that God will one day demand of him an account of all the ſouls that ſhall be loſt in college, from his having declined to ſend away the corrupters, through views of intereſt, or too great complaiſance, or even good nature? [m] *Sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram:* His blood will I require at thy hand.

[m] Ezek. iii. 18.

When

When I ſpeak thus, I do not mean that every conſiderable fault, nor even every immoral action, is a reaſon for diſmiſſing a ſcholar. The diſeaſe as ſuch is not a reaſon for ſending the ſick perſon out of the infirmary, but only when it is known to be contagious, and capable of infecting others. Thus we muſt bear with a ſcholar for ſome time, but when we ſee that inſtructions, chiding and puniſhments are ineffectual, and there is cauſe to apprehend that the evil may ſpread, the removal of him then becomes abſolutely neceſſary.

Down there is no circumſtance, which requires more prudence and diſcretion in the principal, than this I am ſpeaking of. Nothing but the Spirit of God can keep him in a juſt medium, and inſpire him with wiſdom to behave ſo as not to offend through too great gentleneſs or too much ſeverity. Nor can he in ſuch a conjuncture implore too much his aſſiſtance and inſtruction.

Another means of preſerving diſcipline and good order in a college, is firmly and diſcreetly to ſupport and eſtabliſh the authority of the lower maſters, to ſtand ſteadfaſtly by them upon occaſion, and never to blame them in the preſence of the ſcholars, but to reſerve what we have to ſay to them for their private ear, if it is judged neceſſary, and there to give them proper advice. To this end the principal ſhould often ſee them, always receive them with humanity and civility, inform himſelf by them of the behaviour of the ſcholars, hear their complaints and opinions, and leave them entire liberty in order to gain their confidence. 'Tis this union, this agreement and good underſtanding, which is the ſoul of government. The principal then hears all that paſſes, and all is managed by his directions. The maſters, who are his arms, his ears and his eyes, receive all their motions from him, and he treats them alſo with the ſame tenderneſs, as the apple of his eye, and as ſo many parts of himſelf.

The vice-principal, upon whom the care of the diſcipline in general turns, and who almoſt univerſally holds the place, and ſupplies the abſence of the principal,

cipal, ſhould in every thing follow his inſtructions. Vigilance, attention and exactneſs, form his eſſential character. Nothing ſhould eſcape him. During his recreations, whilſt he is walking and talking with others, his eyes and his mind muſt be in another place. He muſt obſerve all that paſſes, and almoſt without ſeeming to do it; every motion, every converſation, every particular correſpondence, and draw an advantage from them all. And the ſame may be ſaid of all the other maſters, who are equally obliged to be attentive, and can more eaſily be ſo, as they have a ſmaller number of ſcholars to obſerve. There are ſome maſters, who think in this point they may in conſcience rely upon the perſon who is intruſted with the publick diſcipline; but this is a miſtake. For every maſter muſt anſwer for his ſcholars, and is obliged to watch over them at all times, when he is at liberty to do ſo.

We cannot too much recommend the doing every thing exactly in the time and moment appointed for it. There is little trouble in it, except in the beginning. When the cuſtom is once eſtabliſhed, the ſcholars obſerve it almoſt naturally and without any difficulty. It is a pleaſure to ſee a great number of boys diſappear at once, as ſoon as the clock ſtrikes, and leave the court empty; and it is a bad omen of the diſcipline of a college, when inſtead of a ſpeedy departure they ſeem doubtful whether they ſhould go or no, and loiter one after another. And the ſame obſervation will hold good as to every thing elſe; their going into their claſſes, the refectory and the church. To eſtabliſh this order, the principal and vice-principal muſt ſet the example, and be there always firſt.

This diſpoſition to exactneſs is of great weight in all the employments of life. 'Tis a qualification abſolutely neceſſary to all that are in authority. To this end it is requiſite to deſcend to very minute particulars; to attend to every thing almoſt without ſeeming to do ſo; to foreſee at a diſtance, and prepare for what-

whatever is to be done; not to be ſatisfied with g orders, but to be regularly informed whether the executed, and how; to ſee that the ſlighteſt injunc are obſerved, in order to prevent by that mean breaking of ſuch as are more eſſential. The ſome maſters who deſpiſe exactneſs in little thing cauſe they look upon them as trifles; but they d conſider, that though every one of theſe rules ma pear perhaps of very little moment in particula joined all together they form what is called diſc and good order in a college, and that negligen ſome uſually induces the ruin of the reſt. I could willingly apply the obſervation of Livy upon the of religion. Theſe ceremonies, [n] ſays he, ſeem to us ſmall and contemptible; but it was by n ſpiſing them, that our anceſtors raiſed the repu to that height of grandeur, to which it has no tained. *Parva ſunt hæc, ſed parva iſta non conte do majores noſtri maximam hanc rem fecerunt.*

Not that I think good order in a college ſhou made to conſiſt in the great number of rules. multiplicity of laws is not always the ſign of a government. [o] *Ut antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legil horabatur*, ſays Tacitus. They are rather fe maſters who know the neceſſity and advanta them, than for the ſcholars who are apt to raiſe the bare name of laws. The example of the fo and an habit of practiſing theſe rules contract the other, is a living law, preferable to all th written. It were to be wiſhed we could ſay of [illegible], that the ſame [p] Tacitus ſays of the Ger [illegible] morals there have more force, than la[illegible] in other places. *Plus ibi boni mores valent, alibi bonæ leges.*

[n] Liv. lib. vi. n. 41.
[o] Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 25.
[p] De mor. Ger. cap. 19

## ARTICLE the FOURTH.

### *Of Education.*

BY this word I here underſtand the particular care that is taken in forming the manners and characters of youth, wherein I ſuppoſe a great part of education to conſiſt.

This care relates either to the body or the mind; and it is the principal's buſineſs to ſee that both are improved.

We may refer all that concerns the body to neatneſs and gracefulneſs.

With reference to neatneſs I cannot do better than quote the expreſs terms of the ſtatute and injunction of the univerſity upon this ſubject. ¶ "The maſters "muſt take care that their ſcholars have no naſtineſs "nor any thing dirty or groſs in their dreſs; that "they do not expreſs a remarkable negligence in their "habit; that their clothes be not torn, their hair "uncombed, or their hands unwaſhed. For it is re"quiſite not only to give them a good taſte for learn"ing and the ſciences, but alſo to teach them a civil "and courteous manner of behaviour, which are ſo "neceſſary for ſociety and the commerce of life. On "the other hand, the boys muſt not be allowed to "be too gaudy and trim in their apparel, nor muſt "they affect to have their hair trimmed up and curled "with too much care and art." This injunction is very judicious, as it commands us to avoid the two extremes, which are alike vicious. We muſt not therefore ſuffer any affectation of finery in the ſcholars,

¶ Provideant pædagogi & magiſtri, ut ſui diſcipuli abhorreant à cultu immundo, luculento, & agreſti; ne ſint inſigniter negligentes in veſtitu: ne diſcincti, impexi, illoti: ut non ſolum in literatura, ſed etiam in communi vitæ uſu civilem humanitatem politioremque urbanitatem ediſcant. Sed hi, neque laſciviant immodeſtius, neque tortos arte & ſtudio capillos cincinnoſve ferant. Stat. 14. Append.

and much leſs thoſe airs of *petit maitres*, by which they ſometimes ſtrive to diſtinguiſh themſelves.

Gracefulneſs with reference to the boys conſiſts in a good addreſs, in having a countenance ſettled and modeſt, in walking with an eaſy and natural air, in keeping themſelves upright, in making a handſome bow, in not falling into indecent poſtures, nor indulging a certain air of negligence. For this end dancing-maſters are uſeful to a certain degree, and Quintilian approves of our making ſome uſe of them. † *Ne illos quidem reprehendendos putem, qui paulum etiam palæſtricis vacaverint.* But he was far from allowing, that ſuch perſons ſhould be employed in this office, as were infamous and ſcandalous by their very profeſſion. *Hos abeſſe ab eo, quem inſtituimus, quàm longiſſimè velim.* He confines this ſtudy to a narrow compaſs, and admits only of the few neceſſary circumſtances we have deſcribed above. *Ut rectæ ſint brachia, ne indoctæ ruſticæque manus, ne ſtatus indecorus, ne quid in proferendis pedibus inſcitia, ne caput oculique ab alia corporis inclinatione diſſideant.*

I have elſewhere ſpoke of politeneſs, which partly belongs to the body, and partly to the mind. For what is eſſential in this qualification lies in not being too fond of one's ſelf, nor doing every thing for one's own ſake; in avoiding to do or ſay any thing to offend others; in ſeeking opportunities of doing them a pleaſure; and in preferring their convenience and inclinations to our own. This the maſters ſhould principally take care of; and when the boys are exerciſed in the practice of theſe maxims, they eaſily grow polite, and upon going abroad into the world will learn in three months all they want to know in this reſpect.

But the great and capital application of a principal, and in proportion of all the other maſters, is to work upon the genius and humour of the boys, and in this reſpect do them an infinite ſervice. But herein he

† Quintil. lib. 1, cap. 11.

cannot

cannot make any great progreſs by publick inſtructions, but may by private converſations, in which the boys may open themſelves to him, ſpeak to him with liberty, and tell him their grievances; and here they may be taught to know themſelves, not to be diſpleaſed when they are told their faults, to diſcover them firſt and ſincerely own them, to enquire after proper methods of amendment, to deſire the maſter's directions upon this head, and to come and give an account to him from time to time of the benefit they have found by them.

Suppoſe, for inſtance, that the ſcholar is naturally addicted to pride and vanity, he talks often of himſelf, and always with ſelf-eſteem and complacency, he boaſts upon every occaſion of the nobility of his family, the high places of his parents, their wealth and the magnificence of their equipage, furniture and table, and expreſſes a contempt for every one beſides. This fault is not uncommon among boys, and is ſometimes found even in thoſe whoſe parents having nothing to recommend them, but the wealth they have heaped up.

If a principal takes a due care of his college, he cannot avoid being acquainted with his boy's diſpoſition. When he makes him a viſit, after ſome preliminary diſcourſe, which may ſometimes laſt the longer, in order to pave the way for ſomething better and more ſerious, the converſation muſt be made to turn upon what relates to this young man. If upon the queſtions that are put to him, he owns his prevailing fault, and ingenuouſly confeſſes it, we ſhould ſeem to be well ſatisfied with him, to commend his ſincerity, and let him know that a fault acknowledged and confeſſed, is already half amended. If he does not allow of it, which may happen either deſignedly or not, we muſt endeavour inſenſibly to let him into it by urging particular facts, tho' without reproach or bitterneſs, by the opinion of his maſters, and even the teſtimony of his companions; and ſometimes he muſt be allowed time to reflect more maturely upon it. When at

laſt he begins to own his fault, we muſt endeavour to ſhew him the deformity and ridicule of it; how our own ſelf-love, rightly conſidered, muſt give us an averſion for it; as inſtead of the eſteem we propoſe to ourſelves in ſuch fooliſh boaſting, we gain only contempt and hatred. We muſt lay before him the example of ſome one of his companions of great worth and merit, that is humble and modeſt, and eſteemed and beloved by all the world. After having thus pointed out to him his diſeaſe, we muſt next proceed to provide a remedy, by enjoining him to talk no more of himſelf or his family, of his parents, or their wealth and dignity; not to ſet himſelf above others in his own opinion, to deſpiſe nobody, and to ſpeak advantageouſly of his companions. About a fortnight after he may be called for again, and after being informed by the maſters of every thing relating to him, we gather it all from his own mouth, as though we had heard nothing of the matter, and upon finding that he has made any progreſs or alteration, he is to be commended, encouraged, and exhorted to grow better and better.

I ſuppoſe for a ſecond example, that a boy has been untractable and diſreſpectful towards his maſter, that he has refuſed to obey him, has even added ſome inſolent expreſſion, and perſiſts in his obſtinacy. The maſter, inſtead of puniſhing him immediately as he deſerves, is prudently contented to let him know he is diſpleaſed, and remits the puniſhment to another time. In the mean while the ſcholar does not recollect himſelf, nor acknowledge his fault. The principal upon information ſends for him, makes him repeat the matter as it paſſed, and examines whether he ſpeaks true; he makes him both witneſs and judge in his own cauſe; he aſks him if a ſcholar ought not to ſubmit to his maſter; if he ought not to anſwer him with reſpect, even though he thought he was not to blame; how much more muſt he be in the wrong, if the maſter had reaſon entirely on his ſide? Could a college

college ſubſiſt if ſuch an example was to be allowed? Is it in a maſter's or principal's power to leave him unpuniſhed? or could he reaſonably expect it from them? and thus by degrees a boy may be brought to condemn himſelf, to own he has deſerved to be puniſhed, to make ſatisfaction to his maſter, and to ſubmit to whatever he ſhall think fit. But the maſter, then contented with the ſubmiſſion, is pleaſed to forgive the puniſhment. By ſuch diſcreet management the fault of the ſcholar becomes beneficial to him, and concludes with making him love and reſpect his maſters more than ever; whereas an immediate correction had created in him perhaps an averſion for them for ever.

Upon theſe occaſions there is a certain addreſs required in a maſter, which conſiſts in knowing how to gain upon the mind, to touch gently upon what is amiſs, not to go too far, and to lead them by different queſtions to the point we would bring them to: This was the wonderful art of Socrates, as may be ſeen in all the dialogues, wherein Plato introduces him as a ſpeaker. We find alſo an admirable inſtance of it in the [a] Cyropædia of Xenophon, another diſciple of Socrates, which may ſerve as a model to maſters for the kind of converſation I am here ſpeaking of. The King of Armenia rebelling againſt Aſtyages King of Media, Cyrus marched ſpeedily againſt him and took him priſoner, and cauſing him to be brought before him with his wives and children, he began with requiring him above all things to anſwer according to the truth. Then the King of Armenia, led from propoſition to propoſition, owned with trembling, that he had unjuſtly broken the treaty, and deſerved to loſe his kingdom and his life. But Cyrus, contrary to all expectation, having reſtored him to his dominions, made a friend of him, whoſe fidelity and gratitude afterwards became inviolable. The paſſage is very long, but very beautiful, and deſerves to be read with care.

[a] Cyrop. lit. iii.

But to return to the principal. He may do infinite ſervice by theſe familiar converſations, wherein the ſcholars may open themſelves to him, and talk to him as to a good friend. One may ſometimes employ the hours of recreation in this ſort of converſation. When the ſcholars love and value their principal, they make no difficulty of diſcloſing themſelves to him; but it muſt be done in ſuch a manner, that by his inviolable ſecrecy he may never give them cauſe to repent of it. He ſhould principally apply himſelf to ſuch as are grown up, as they are better able to profit by his inſtructions, and ſtand moſt in need of them. The two years of philoſophy, after which it is uſual to chuſe the kind of life they deſign to follow, ſeem naturally deſigned to examine their vocation. It is the moſt important action of life, upon which their temporal happineſs and eternal ſalvation often depend, and is almoſt conſtantly left to an age incapable of conducting itſelf, and but little diſpoſed to take advice.

Before I conclude this article, I muſt add, that principals are capable, and perhaps obliged too, to do a part of the ſame ſervices to the ſcholars, that live out of the college, as they do to the penſioners: For all the youth of the college are committed to their care. When a regent perceives that a ſcholar begins to be irregular, he may inform the principal of it, who may ſend for him into his chamber, and give him ſuch inſtructions as are neceſſary to reclaim him.

## ARTICLE the FIFTH.

### *Of Religion.*

I Have no need to prove, that this article is the moſt momentous of all, and that the negligence of the maſters upon this point would be very criminal, as it would

would be attended with very bad consequences. We may reduce what we have to say upon this matter to three points, instructions, the use of the sacraments, and the practice of certain exercises of piety.

1. *Instructions.*

It is easy to comprehend that such boys as leave the college without sufficient instruction in religion, run the risque of being ignorant of it all the rest of their lives; and it is but too plain, that this ignorance is the fatal source of the disorders and irreligion, which almost universally prevail in the world.

The remedy for so great an evil is to make the best advantage of the time, whilst the boys are yet tractable, and naturally inclined to hearken to all the truths of religion. It should be laid down as a principle of christian education, which concerns all masters in general, principals, regents and preceptors, that children are committed to their care by Christ himself, to see that they preserve the precious treasure of innocence, which he has renewed in them by baptism; to make them worthy of the divine adoption, and the glorious title of the children of God, to which he has raised them; to instruct them in all the mysteries of his life and death, and in all the precepts, upon the observation of which their salvation depends. It is this, that Christ will one day require an account of from us, and not whether we have made them good poets or good orators.

Now whence can we derive these points of divine knowledge, but from the sacred books of the Old and New Testament? I beg the masters to read over carefully what M. de Fenelon says upon this article in his book I have already mentioned, *of the education of daughters*, which equally belongs to young persons of the other sex. I shall here quote some passages from it.

"The stories of the Old Testament are not only "proper to awaken the curiosity of children, but by "discovering to them the original of their religion,

" they lay the foundations of it in their mind. A " perſon muſt be profoundly ignorant of the ſpirit " of religion not to ſee that it is wholly hiſtorical. It " is by a texture of wonderful facts, that we learn " its eſtabliſhment, its perpetuity, and all that we " are to believe and practiſe.

" It muſt not be imagined that we have an inclina- " tion to engage young perſons to enter deep into the " knowledge of it, by laying before them all theſe " ſtories. They are ſhort, various, and calculated " to pleaſe perſons of the dulleſt underſtanding. God, " who knows better than any other the ſpirit of the " man whom he has formed, has placed religion in " popular facts, which are ſo far from over-charging " the ſimple, that they aſſiſt them in conceiving and " retaining the myſtery of it." M. de Fenelon brings an inſtance relating to the myſtery of the Trinity; after which he adds, " This example ſuffices to ſhew " the uſefulneſs of hiſtorical relations. Though they " ſeem to lengthen out inſtruction, they very much " abridge it, and take off from the dryneſs of cate- " chiſms where the myſteries are detached from facts. " Thus we ſee that formerly inſtructions were given " by ſtories. The admirable manner by which St. " Auguſtin adviſes all ignorant perſons to be inſtruct- " ed, was not a method introduced by that father " alone, it was the method and practice of the uni- " verſal church, and conſiſted in ſhewing, by a ſeries " of hiſtorical facts, that the chriſtian religion was as " old as the world; that Chriſt was expected in the " Old Teſtament and reigned in the New; which is " the ſubſtance of the inſtruction of a Chriſtian.

" This requires indeed ſomewhat more time and " care than is uſually ſpent by a great many perſons " upon inſtruction; but then religion is not truly " known, unleſs we deſcend to theſe particulars; and " whoever is ignorant of them, can have no other than " confuſed notions of Jeſus Chriſt, of the Goſpel, of " the Church, and of the main virtues which Chriſti-

" anity

"anity ſhould inſpire us with. [f] The hiſtorical cate-
"chiſm lately printed, which is plain and ſhort, and
"far clearer than the common catechiſms, contains
"all that is neceſſary to be known upon this ſub-
"ject. Thus it cannot be ſaid that it requires a
"great deal of ſtudy."

M. de Fenelon, after he has run over and pointed out the moſt remarkable ſtories of the Old and New Teſtament, adds as follows; "Chuſe out the moſt "wonderful ſtories of the martyrs, and ſomething in "groſs of the heavenly life of the firſt Chriſtians, "add to them the courage of young virgins, the "ſurprizing auſterities of the monks, the conver-"ſion of the Emperors and the empire, the blind-"neſs of the Jews and their terrible puniſhment, "which ſtill ſubſiſts.

"All theſe ſtories, diſcreetly managed, will give "the children with pleaſure the whole ſeries of reli-"gion from the creation of the world to our own "time, which will inſpire them with very noble ideas, "and ſuch as will never be eraſed. In this hiſtory "they will ſee the hand of God always raiſed to de-"liver the righteous and confound the wicked. They "will be accuſtomed to ſee God doing all in every "thing, and ſecretly leading to his deſigns ſuch crea-"tures as ſeem moſt remote from them. But in this "collection ſuch ſtories muſt be choſen, as convey the "moſt pleaſing and ſublime images, as we muſt uſe "our utmoſt endeavours to make religion appear "beautiful, and auguſt to the children; whereas "they uſually repreſent it to themſelves, as ſome-"thing moroſe and inſipid."

A ſolid inſtruction, like this we have mentioned, is a powerful remedy againſt ſuperſtition. "Nothing "muſt ever be ſuffered," ſays the ſame M. de Fene-lon, "to be mingled with the faith or the practice of "piety, which is not taken from the goſpel, or au-"thorized by a conſtant approbation of the church.

[f] Of M. l'Abbé Fleury.

" The children muſt be diſcreetly guarded againſt " certain abuſes, which ſome are tempted to look upon " as points of diſcipline, who are not well inſtructed. " We cannot entirely avoid it, unleſs we go back to " the original, ſearch into the inſtitution of things, " and the uſe which the ſaints have made of them.

" Accuſtom then the children, who are naturally " too credulous, not lightly to give into certain ſtories, " which want authority, nor to practiſe certain devo- " tions, which an indiſcreet zeal has introduced, with- " out waiting for the approbation of the church."

We ſee by what I have juſt mentioned, the manner of giving youth ſolid inſtruction, and the neceſſity of employing the time ſpent in college, in teaching them " [t] to know Chriſt, his precepts, principles and reme- " dies; in thoroughly explaining the goſpel; in mak- " ing them acquainted with the worth of man, whom " God alone can make happy, with his fall and mi- " ſery, for which the incarnation and death of a God " were alone capable of providing a remedy. The " corruption of his own heart, which is ſubdued by " ſelf-love, and an affection for ſenſible objects; his " inability to do any good of himſelf, and without " the grace of Jeſus Chriſt; and the continual danger " he is expoſed to by concupiſcence, which ſtill ſub- " ſiſts though conquered.——It is alſo very impor- " tant to inculcate into them the great and efficacious " truths of religion; how terrible God is in his judg- " ments; how different we ſhall find the ſtate after " death from our preſent notions; how great a miſery " it is to loſe God irrevocably; how black ſins are " which are committed after baptiſm; of what weight " the life and death of Chriſt are to us, for which we " muſt give an account; how great folly there is in de- " ſpiſing eternal happineſs; what holineſs the grace " of the new law requires in thoſe who are dead and " buried with Chriſt, waſhed in his blood, conſe-

[t] Inſtruct. ſur la man. d'élever les Nov. tom. 1 des lettres de piété.

" crated

"crated by the infuſion of his Spirit, nouriſhed by "his fleſh, and united in ſo intimate a manner to "his Divinity."

There is no perſon, in my opinion, but upon reading what I have here laid down, muſt agree that this is doubtleſs the only method of rightly inſtructing the boys in matters of religion. This method requires time and care, but we are ſufficiently recompenſed for all our pains, by the fruit we have reaſon to expect from it. Let us now enquire when we muſt give theſe inſtructions.

Sundays and holidays are the natural time for it. Theſe days by their inſtitution are ſet apart for divine worſhip, of which the word of God and inſtruction are a principal part. We know that they are with us what the ſabbath was amongſt the Jews, and we know likewiſe under how ſevere a puniſhment God required it to be kept holy. [t] *Whoever doth any work on the ſabbath-day, he ſhall ſurely be put to death.* He gave up the Jews the ſix other days for their own works, but reſerved the ſeventh for himſelf. [u] *Six days ſhalt thou labour, and do all that thou haſt to do; but the ſeventh day is the ſabbath of the Lord thy God.* It was a day favoured by him with certain privileges, conſecrated only to his worſhip, and over which he was jealous, as of a day that belonged to him in a peculiar manner. [w] *Ye ſhall therefore keep the ſabbath.* He would not ſuffer them to walk abroad upon that day, but required them to tarry at home, that they might meditate there more freely upon his law. [x] *Abide ye every man in his place; let no man go out of his place on the ſeventh day.* And [y] laſtly, it is ſurprizing to

t Exod xxxi. 15.
u Ibid. xx. 9, 10.
w Ibid. xxxi. 14.
x Ibid. xvi. 29.
y Verily my ſabbaths ye ſhall keep —— that ye may know that I am the Lord. —— Ye ſhall keep the ſabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you: Every one that defileth it ſhall ſurely be put to death. —— Six days may work be done, but in the ſeventh is the ſabbath of reſt, holy unto the Lord: whoſoever doth any work on the ſabbath day, he ſhall ſurely be put to death. Wherefore the children

to ſee how often, and with what threatenings, God in a ſmall number of verſes, repeats and inculcates this precept, and with what force he recommends the obſervation of it. It is very plain that God no leſs requires of us the ſanctification of Sundays and holidays, and conſequently we ſee of what importance it is to accuſtom the boys early to the obſervation of them, and the rather as this precept is almoſt generally broken by all conditions, and eſpecially among perſons of quality. Thus it is a wiſe rule laid down in ſeveral colleges, not to let the penſioners go abroad on Sunday and holidays, but to employ the greateſt part of thoſe days in giving them inſtruction about religion. Parents have no cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the principal, who is exact and inflexible upon this point; at leaſt they cannot ſuſpect him of conſulting his own intereſt in it.

I have found by experience, how uſeful M. de Fenelon's maxim is of teaching the boys religion by hiſtorical facts, and at the ſame time how agreeable to that age. The greateſt part of the inſtruction I gave in college turned upon the Old Teſtament. All the great truths of religion, either in point of doctrine or morality, are to be found there; and laid down in this manner, they make an impreſſion on the mind of young people, which is the more ſtrong and laſting, as they are joined to hiſtorical facts, which are not eaſily eraſed out of their memory.

To theſe inſtructions, which I regularly gave after morning and evening ſervice, I joined another, which was ſtill more uſeful. When their recreation was ended, which upon thoſe days ſhould be very long, for children ſtand in need of reſt and refreſhment, they all retired to their chambers. Then the upper boys ſpent an hour in reading in their cloſets three or four hiſtorical chapters of the Old Teſtament, of which they

of Iſrael ſhall keep the ſabbath, covenant. It is a ſign between me and the children of Iſrael for ever. Exod. xxxi. 13—17.

their generation, for a perpetual

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came afterwards to give me an account towards the evening in the chapel. I aſked the ſcholars, without obſerving any order, what they had taken notice of in their reading, and have often been ſurprized at their ſenſible and judicious reflections, which I valued the more, as they came from themſelves, and were not ſuggeſted to them. It is eaſy to comprehend how uſeful this ſort of exerciſe may be to boys, not only to inſtruct them in religion, but likewiſe for the improvement of their underſtanding and judgment.

Beſides theſe inſtructions, there muſt be one day in the week ſet apart for the explanation of the catechiſm, and this is uſually practiſed in all colleges. I have elſewhere ſpoken of the manner of catechiſing, whilſt I was diſcourſing upon the eloquence of the pulpit, which muſt be different according to the difference of ages. I ſhall here make but one obſervation more, which I have ſeen practiſed with a great deal of ſucceſs. The inſtructions which are given to ſcholars of a more advanced age, as in the claſs of rhetorick and philoſophy, muſt be more emphatical and ſublime, and generally turn upon a continued plan of religion. In ſome colleges the ſcholars are obliged to ſet down in writing what they have underſtood, and give a ſummary of the catechiſm which has been explained to them, and ſeveral will do it with ſuch an exactneſs, as is ſurprizing to the maſters. The ſame thing is practiſed in ſeveral pariſhes of Paris, and I have known ſome young girls ſucceed in it very well.

I ſhall ſay but one word more concerning the inſtructions relating to ſervants. It is one of the eſſential duties of the principal. He owes them this reward for the ſervices they do the college, and he owes this example to the boys, to teach them what God will one day require of them. Perſons of wealth and quality are almoſt entirely ignorant of the obligations they lie under in this particular. They forget that their ſervants have any other maſter than themſelves, whom they ought to ſerve, and conſequently

know, and that for this reaſon it is their indiſpenſible duty to ſee them inſtructed in religion, to watch over their conduct, to allow them time, and procure them means of fulfilling the duties of Chriſtianity; that they owe them theſe ſpiritual aſſiſtances ſtill more than their food and raiment; that they muſt anſwer to God for the ſalvation of thoſe that ſerve them, no leſs than their own; and that they are included in the number of thoſe, whom St. Paul recommends the care of in ſuch terms as ſhould make all Chriſtian maſters tremble, [a] *but if any provide not for his own, eſpecially for thoſe of his own houſe, he hath denied the faith, and is worſe than an infidel.* There is therefore an abſolute neceſſity of inſtructing youth in this duty, and giving them an example of it, by the exact care taken in the inſtruction of ſervants.

It might be of uſe to give ſervants now and then ſuch books as are proper to inſtruct them in religion, and increaſe their piety, a New Teſtament, the Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt, and other books of like nature. The expence is not very great, and may draw down a bleſſing upon the college. The principal, maſters and parents, may all contribute ſomething towards it; and it would be neither indifferent or difficult to accuſtom the boys to give ſomething out of their pocket-money for the uſe of theſe pious liberalities.

## 2. *Of the Uſe of Sacraments.*

As the Sacraments are the ordinary channel by which God communicates to us the aſſiſtances we ſtand in need of to live and die like Chriſtian, it is very important to inſpire boys with a profound reſpect for theſe ſacred ſprings of grace and ſalvation, which will accompany them all the reſt of their lives, and will teach them early to make an holy and beneficial uſe of them.

[a] 1 Tim. v. 8.

*3. Of*

## 1. *Of Baptiſm.*

We now receive Baptiſm at an age, which does not admit of our attention either to the auguſt ceremonies that are obſerved in it, or to the engagements we take upon ourſelves. It is therefore neceſſary to recal them to mind at a time when we are better able to profit by them. We muſt not therefore fail to make the children renew the vows they made in their baptiſm, either upon the anniverſary of the day they received it, or upon the eves of Eaſter and Whitſuntide, which were formerly the only days, whereon this Sacrament was adminiſtred in a publick and ſolemn manner.

To reap the greater advantage from this pious practice, it may be proper to have the boys preſent at the baptiſm of ſome child, that they may have the ſtronger impreſſion of what is afterwards to be explained to them. "This, ſays M. de Fenelon, will "give them a deeper ſenſe of the ſpirit and end of it. "By this you'll make them underſtand how great "it is to be a Chriſtian, and how ſhameful and "terrible it is to be ſuch as the generality of man-"kind are. Often put them in mind of the pro-"miſes they made in their Baptiſm, to ſhew them "that the examples and maxims of the world ſhould "be ſo far from having any authority over us, that "they ought to make us ſuſpect whatever flows from "ſo odious and poiſonous a ſource. Fear not to re-"preſent to them with St. Paul, the Devil reigning in "the world, and influencing the hearts of men with "all the violent paſſions, which make them fond of "riches, glory, and pleaſures. It is this pomp, you "may ſay to them, which ſtill more properly belongs "to the Devil than the world; 'tis this ſpectacle of "vanity, to which a Chriſtian muſt not open his "heart, or his eyes. The firſt ſtep a Chriſtian "makes by Baptiſm is to renounce all the pomps and

" vanities of this wicked world. To be fond of the " the world after ſuch ſolemn promiſes made to God, " is to relapſe into a kind of apoſtacy."

## 2. *Of the Euchariſt.*

The firſt Communion of the boys ſhould be looked upon as the moſt important action of their lives, for which they cannot be too much prepared. They muſt be diſpoſed for it ſome time before, be early ſpoke to about it, be taught to conſider it as the greateſt happineſs that can happen to them on earth, be inſpired with an eager deſire after it, and above all have a thorough ſenſe of the great purity of morals which ſo ſacred an action requires.

It is hard to fix the time of the firſt Communion, as it muſt not depend upon the age but the diſpoſition of the children, and ſtill more upon the ſtate of their conſciences.

The ſentiments of M. de Fenelon upon this article, are, in my opinion, very judicious, and without preſuming to lay down a rule for any body, I think it proper to propoſe it here: " The firſt Communion, " ſays he, ſhould, as I think, be made at the time when " the infant, arrived at the uſe of reaſon, ſhall ap- " pear moſt apt to learn, and exempt from every con- " ſiderable fault. 'Tis amidſt theſe firſt fruits of " faith and the love of God, that Jeſus Chriſt will " exhibit himſelf to him by the graces of the Com- " munion. When therefore we ſhall find the quali- " fications here ſpoken of united in the children, a " fund of docility and an exemption from every con- " ſiderable fault, and conſequently a great purity of " manners, the firſt fruits, that is, the beginning, " though as yet weak and imperfect, of faith and the " love of God. We have reaſon to believe that " God will give a bleſſing to a firſt Communion re- " ceived in this condition, and that it may ſerve to " ſtrengthen and increaſe ſuch happy diſpoſitions for " the future. " When,

"When, on the other hand, we obſerve quite oppoſite diſpoſitions in children, an expreſs indocility which bears inſtructions and remonſtrances with pain; vicious habits, to which their frequent relapſes prove that they are very much addicted; no notion of faith; no mark of the love of God; it is then evident, that we ought to delay it, till we have better evidence of a ſincere change and a true converſion."

The ſame may be ſaid of the other Communions, during the whole courſe of the year. The boys ſhould be inſpired with a fervent deſire of communicating often, be made to underſtand that the body of Chriſt ſhould be our daily bread, that the primitive Chriſtians very often approached to the Euchariſt, and derived thence that ſtrength and courage, which were then ſo neceſſary to them, and are now no leſs neceſſary to us; and that the greateſt, or rather the only grief of a Chriſtian ſhould be to ſee himſelf deprived of the Communion through his own fault. [a] *Unus ſit nobis dolor hâc eſca privari.*

At the ſame time they muſt be well inſtructed in the diſpoſitions neceſſary for the worthy receiving of the Euchariſt, and above all be made ſenſible, what a horrible crime it is to receive it with a conſcience defiled with any mortal ſin; that this would be to betray Chriſt by a kiſs, like the perfidious Judas; to crucify him afreſh; to tread underfoot the Son of God; to count the Blood of the Covenant wherewith he has ſanctified us, an unholy thing; and to do deſpite unto the Spirit of Grace. We ought to uſe our outmoſt endeavours to inſpire the boys with all poſſible horror for receiving unworthily; and I think they are very happy, when they carry from college a ſincere and ſolid reſpect for the Sacraments.

[a] Chryſoſtom.

—The American people, in adopting any great reform, are a good deal like the Yankee who bet with a Dutchman that he could ſwallow him. The Dutchman lay down on a table, and the Yankee taking his thumb in his mouth, nipped ſeverely. "Oh, you are biting me," roared Dutchman. "Why, you old fool," replied Yankee, "did you suppose I was going to ſwallow you whole?"

### 3. *Of Devotions.*

There are certain ſhort and eaſy devotions, which are no trouble to the boys, but may put them in mind of ſeveral duties which are uſually neglected, and accuſtom them to give piety a ſhare in moſt of their actions.

We cannot too earneſtly nor too frequently inculcate into the boys thoſe words of the Goſpel: [b] *This is life eternal, that they might know the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* They teach us that true piety is founded on the knowledge of God and Jeſus Chriſt, that is, of his myſteries, his precepts and his example. What the evangeliſts relate of his behaviour in his infancy, ſhould be perfectly known and familiar to them, eſpecially [c] what he did in the temple at twelve years old, a valuable circumſtance which it has pleaſed Chriſt to preſerve in the Goſpel, that boys might find there a perfect model of all the virtues that are ſuitable to their age. [d] He muſt often be repreſented to them, as full of tenderneſs for children, as laying his hands upon them, and bleſſing them, giving them acceſs to him, declaring that the kingdom of heaven belonged to them, and willing to conſider what was done to them as done to himſelf.

As ſoon as the children awake in the morning, as if God ſaid to them that moment, [e] *My ſon give me thy heart*; let them anſwer, "I offer myſelf to thee, "O God, with all my heart." [f] *Corde magno, & animo volenti.* And let all their ſtudies begin with a ſhort prayer.

Prayers before and after meals are regularly obſerved in every college; and though nothing can be more juſt and reaſonable than to pay this publick homage to the goodneſs and liberality of God, from whom we have

[b] John xvii. 3.
[c] Luke ii. 41, 42.
[d] Matt. xix. 13, 14 Luke ix. 48.
[e] Prov. xxiii. 26.
[f] 2 Macc. i. 3.

every thing, and to whom we ought conſequently to return thanks for all; yet now to the ſhame of our age this ſacred cuſtom, confirmed by the uſe of all times, even among the Pagans, is aboliſhed more and more every day amongſt us, eſpecially with the rich and great, who have ſcarce any footſteps of it amongſt them, and ſeem as though they were aſhamed of appearing Chriſtians. The children ſhould be forewarned againſt theſe abuſes, by being accuſtomed even at breakfaſt and drinking to beg a bleſſing upon the food they are about to eat. One may take occaſion to inſtruct them upon this ſubject, by explaining to them what is ſaid of Jeſus Chriſt; that as he ſat at meat with his two diſciples that went to Emmaus, [g] *He took bread and bleſſed it, and brake it, and gave to them.*

I have no need to take notice of the indiſpenſible obligation we are under to pray every day for the King's moſt ſacred Majeſty. The ſtatute of the univerſity is herein very expreſs, and is exactly obſerved.

We muſt likewiſe remember the wants, whether publick, of the church and ſtate, or private, of our relations and friends.

We muſt not forget, in Ember weeks, to put the boys in mind of joining with the common prayers of the church, and deſiring of God, that he would be pleaſed to grant us repentance and pardon our ſins, to beſtow his bleſſing upon the fruits of the earth, and to give his church good paſtors and miniſters. Upon the day of ordination, they may add this prayer, taken out of Scripture.. [h] *Lord Jeſus, thou fold of the ſheep, by whom whoſoever entereth in ſhall be ſaved; Thou good ſhepherd, who haſt laid down thy life for the ſheep, have mercy upon thy people, who are afflicted and ſcattered abroad, as ſheep not having a ſhepherd. The harveſt truly is great, but the labourers are few; we pray thee therefore, the Lord of the harveſt, to ſend forth labour-*

[g] Luke xxiv. 30. [h] John x. Matt. ix. Act. i.

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*ers into thy harveſt. Thou, Lord, who knoweſt the hearts of all men, ſhew whom thou haſt choſen. Amen.*

When any of our relations or friends, any biſhop or magiſtrate is dangerouſly ill, we may ſay every day at the end of our meals, [1] *Lord, he whom thou lovſt is ſick.* When he is out of danger we may return thanks for him thus, *We give thee thanks, O Lord, for thy ſervant, whoſe ſickneſs was not unto death, but for thy glory.*

Every ſcholar may give notice of the day of his birth and baptiſm, and deſire the reſt to remember him at the morning ſervice, and give thanks for it for him and with him.

Theſe ſmall devotions, which are very eaſy in themſelves, and which have place upon different occaſions, according to different wants, are of ſervice, as we eaſily ſee, to inſpire youth with a diſpoſition towards piety, and to accuſtom them early to diſcharge certain duties of religion, which are uſually not known or neglected.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Duty of the Regents.*

AFTER what I have already ſaid of the manner of teaching, which principally concerns the regents, I have little to add upon this ſubject. I ſhall reduce it to four or five articles; the diſcipline of the claſſes; the exerciſes made in them to qualify the ſcholars for appearing in publick; the compoſitions and publick actions; the ſtudies of the maſters; and the application of all that has been ſaid to the order and government of the claſſes.

[1] John xi. 5.

ARTICLE

# ARTICLE the FIRST.

## *Of the diſcipline of the Claſſes.*

THIS conſiſts in keeping the ſcholars in order, in making themſelves heard in ſilence, and obeyed at the firſt ſignal; in which the authority of the maſter is principally ſeen; a rare quality, but abſolutely neceſſary for the maintaining of an exact diſcipline. I have ſpoke of it in another place.

I have likewiſe already obſerved, that emulation is the great advantage of the claſſes. We cannot be too careful to excite and ſupport it among the ſcholars. There are a thouſand different ways of ſucceeding in it, which depend upon the induſtry and activity of a maſter, zealous for the advancement of his diſciples. The greateſt art and ſkill lies in inſpiring boys of a moderate genius, with an inclination to take pains.

But the moſt eſſential part of the diſcipline of the claſſes relates to morality and religion; not that I think the regents ought to ſpeak much or frequently upon this ſubject, for this would be the ſureſt way to diſguſt the boys. But this object muſt be their principal motive, and always in view. They muſt never loſe ſight of it, though they do not ſeem always attentive to it. They muſt artfully lay hold of every occaſion that offers to make ſome remarks, or lay down ſome principles which relate to it; and though it be but ſometimes a word which ſeems dropped by chance, yet it is very often attended with great effects. [k] Thus a compariſon drawn from the publick ſhews by St. Auguſtin, whilſt he was explaining a paſſage of a certain author in rhetorick, ſerved to open the

[k] Et fortè lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem, opportunè mihi videbatur abhibenda ſimilitudo Circenſium, quo illud, quod inſinuabam, & jucundius & planius fieret, cum irriſione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivâſſet inſania. Conf. lib. vi. c. 7.

eyes

eyes of St. Alipius, who was then his diſciple, and was fond of thoſe ſhews to a degree of frenzy.

Beſides theſe publick and common inſtructions, the regent may ſtill be very ſerviceable to the ſcholars by his watchfulneſs over their conduct; by the particular converſations he has ſometimes with them; by his inſtructions and admonitions; by the care he takes of placing them in the claſs near ſuch companions, as may not be dangerous to them, and by a thouſand other circumſtances of a like nature.

One of the ſureſt means to be uſeful to them, is to keep up an acquaintance with their parents, to get information from them of their characters and conduct; upon the firſt abſence of a ſcholar to give him immediate notice of it, to prevent the conſequences, for which otherwiſe he might be reſponſible. This practice is more eſpecially neceſſary in philoſophy, when the ſcholars are allowed a greater liberty. I know the generality of parents give themſelves little trouble about ſeeing the profeſſors, and I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak upon this abuſe, but their careleſſneſs muſt not hinder nor diminiſh the others zeal.

I ſhould do wrong to the probity and religion of the profeſſors, if I ſpent any time here in proving that the care of inſtilling good morals is an eſſential part of their duty. To think otherwiſe would be to throw a blemiſh upon themſelves, and ſink them below the condition of Pagan maſters.

## ARTICLE the SECOND.

### *To make the Scholars appear in publick.*

THERE are ſeveral ways of improving the boys in ſpeaking, and of making them appear in publick, which may all have their uſe. I ſhall here mention

ſion only two, which are moſt in practice in the univerſity; to which I ſhall add ſome inſtructions and rules concerning pronunciation.

### 1. *Of Exerciſes.*

By exerciſes are meant the publick acts in which the ſcholars give an account of the authors they have read, either in their claſs or in private, and of all that has been the ſubject of their ſtudies. This ſort of exerciſe muſt have been judged very uſeful, and entirely acceptable to the publick, ſince in a very little time, without any order of the univerſity, it has been adopted by all the colleges, paſt from thence into private houſes, and made its way into all the provinces.

In ſhort, the plaineſt, moſt natural, and at the ſame time moſt advantageous manner of producing the boys in publick, is this method of making them give an account of the authors, which have been explained to them. By this means they are kept to a cloſe application during a whole year, and obliged to purſue their ſtudies with greater attention, by looking forward upon the publick at a diſtance, as the future witneſſes and judges of the progreſs they ſhall make. They likewiſe acquire a decent aſſurance, by being early accuſtomed to appear in publick, to ſpeak before company, and not be afraid of being ſeen; and by being cured of a timidity, which is natural and pardonable in that age, that might be an obſtacle to part of the good they may afterwards do, and which often becomes invincible, when care is not taken to conquer it in their youth.

Some perſons have been of opinion, that we ought to make them ſpeak Latin in theſe exerciſes. I was once in the ſame way of thinking and practice; but experience has convinced me that it was leſs uſeful to the boys. The principal end propoſed by them is to prepare them for the employments they are one day to fill, to give inſtructions, to plead, report affairs, and

and to ſpeak their opinions in company. Now all this is done in the mother tongue, and almoſt in the ſame manner as in theſe exerciſes. Beſides, can it be thought eaſy, or even poſſible for a young man to explain himſelf elegantly in Latin? How great a reſtraint muſt this be to a ſcholar? Is it not to take from him the one half of his underſtanding, and to diſable him from producing his thoughts clearly, wherein the advantage and pleaſure of theſe exerciſes principally conſiſt? And laſtly, is it fit we ſhould abſolutely neglect the care of our own tongue, which we are to make uſe of every day, and give up our whole application to dead and foreign languages? The ſentiments of the publick upon this point have been very clear.

We are now to enquire after what manner theſe exerciſes are to be made. The ſureſt means of ſucceeding in them, as in every thing elſe, is by uniting pleaſure with profit.

*Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci.*

The uſeful muſt take place, that is, a young man muſt have carefully ſtudied the author, whom he undertakes to explain; he muſt give an account of the difficulties that are found in him; clear up the obſcure places; ſhew the force and energy of the thoughts and expreſſions; and endeavour to render the ſenſe and beauties of the original, in the tranſlation he ſhall give of it *extempore*.

If the exerciſe is in Greek, eſpecially at the beginning, the reſpondent muſt be able to give an account of every word, what it is, in what caſe, and why, what tenſe and mood, what is its ſignification, and when uſed, and muſt be able to turn *extempore* all the tenſes of a verb, agreeably to the rules of the grammar; and the ſame may be ſaid in regard to the Latin author with reference to young beginners. They muſt alſo have ſome acquaintance with the hiſtorical facts related in it, of the ſituation of the towns and rivers it mentions, as alſo of the fables,

if any occur. In the higher claſſes theſe parts of learning muſt have a larger extent.

This is what I call the ground of theſe exerciſes, the baſis whereon they are built, and which muſt be always ſuppoſed; that is, in effect, that the ſcholar is a perfect maſter of the authors and ſubjects whereupon he is to anſwer. But he muſt not ſtop here; and the maſter's ſkill in theſe exerciſes lies in introducing ſomewhat agreeable, and avoiding the dryneſs and mere grammaticality, which is apt to make them tedious to the audience.

There are two things in my opinion, which may very much contribute to make theſe exerciſes agreeable. The firſt is, that the reſpondent particularly apply himſelf to point out the beauties of the author which he explains, upon which I have been very large in the two firſt volumes of this work. The ſecond, that he make judicious reflections upon the facts and ſtories, as likewiſe upon the maxims, which occur in the books, whereof he gives an account; and it is of this I have endeavoured to give ſome models in my two laſt volumes. I have always obſerved that theſe two things were very grateful to the audience; as they ſhew the boys taſte and judgment, which is a matter of the greateſt moment, and to which the maſters ſhould chiefly apply themſelves.

I think therefore, that beſides the main ſtudy I have ſpoke of, in which the uſeful and ſolid part of theſe exerciſes conſiſts, we may prepare certain paſſages after a particular manner, give ſome ſheets of them to the ſcholars, and make them read them carefully ſeveral times over, and even get them by heart, eſpecially at the beginning. It is ſure that paſſages thus carefully prepared by a ſkilful maſter, muſt pleaſe much more than any thing a boy can ſay *extempore*. He is hereby taught and accuſtomed to think juſtly and ſpeak well, he adds reflections to it of his own, which are occaſioned by the queſtions aſked him by the interrogator. But I do not think it proper to charge the memory

mory of the boys with a great number of theſe kind of ſheets, for fear they ſhould rely too much upon the maſter's care, and not take the pains they ought of themſelves, but neglect even the ſtudy of the author, upon whom they are to anſwer.

There is another manner of interrogating, which contributes very much to ſet off the reſpondent, upon which we may ſay the whole ſucceſs of an exerciſe depends. Our buſineſs here is not to inſtruct the ſcholar, and ſtill leſs to perplex him with intricate queſtions, but to give him an opportunity of ſhewing what improvements he has made. We are to ſound his underſtanding and ſtrength. We muſt therefore propoſe nothing to him beyond his capacity, nothing, to which we may not reaſonably preſume that he can give an anſwer. We muſt chuſe out the beautiful paſſages of an author, upon which we may be ſure he is better prepared than any other, and which by their beauty moſt nearly concern the hearer. When he makes a repetition, he muſt not be interrupted inopportunely, but be ſuffered to go on till he has done, and then the difficulties are to be propoſed with ſo much art and perſpicuity, that the ſcholar, if he has any capacity, may diſcover in them the ſolution he is to give. The objector muſt lay down this rule, that he muſt ſpeak little, but put the reſpondent upon talking much; and laſtly, he muſt endeavour to make him only appear to advantage, without conſidering himſelf, by which means he will never fail to pleaſe the audience, and gain their eſteem.

The ordinary ſubject of the exerciſes muſt be what is explained in the claſs, during the courſe of the year. So that by way of preparation little elſe is wanting, than to attend diligently to the explications of the profeſſor. A more induſtrious ſcholar, who has alſo private aſſiſtance, may add ſomething tarticular of his own; and herein his zeal is very commendable, provided this extraordinary pains be not prejudicial to the eſſential duties of the claſs.

I would

I would have it laid down as a rule in theſe exerciſes, whatever author is explained, eſpecially if it is in Greek, to begin with an explanation upon opening of the book, and that the ſcholar ſhould expreſs in few words, what is the meaning of the paſſages upon which he firſt caſts his eye. It is the means of obliging the reſpondent to be equally prepared upon the whole, and to prove to the auditors that the exerciſes are juſtly performed.

This foundation once laid, I muſt repeat it again, that we ought to uſe all our care to make the exerciſes agreeable. We have often ſeen very numerous audiences pay a ſurprizing attention for a very long time, becauſe the ſubjects were treated of in a very engaging manner.

A boy, for inſtance, is to anſwer upon the Goſpel of St. Luke in Greek. After he has explained by way of trial, as I have ſaid, ſome line on both ſides upon the opening of the book, he ſtops at the moſt remarkable hiſtory; for inſtance, that of Lazarus and Dives: He repeats it by adding ſuch Latin and Greek paſſages of the Goſpel, as contain ſome excellent maxim. [1] *And it came to paſs that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's boſom.——The rich man alſo died, and was buried, and in hell he lift up his eyes.—I am tormented in this flame.—But Abraham ſaid, Son, remember that thou in thy life time receiveds thy good things, and likewiſe Lazarus evil things. But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* The ſcholar is aſked, which of the two he had rather be, the rich man or Lazarus; and he makes no heſitation about the choice. He is then aſked his reaſons, and the paſſage which he explains ſupplies him with them. By this means the way is pointed out, and an opportunity giving him of making very ſolid reflections of his own, or at leaſt from the book he has in his hand, upon the principal circumſtances of this ſtory. Upon this occaſion they are made to rehearſe whatever is ſaid in the

[1] Luke xvi. 22, 24, 25.

ſame

ſame Goſpel upon poverty and riches. It is eaſy to diſcern how by this means, under the appearance of teaching a boy the Greek language, very excellent principles may be inſtilled into him, and the audience ſeem always to break up well ſatisfied with this ſort of exerciſe.

When the ſcholars anſwer upon Quintus Curtius, Salluſt, Livy, or ſome lives of Plutarch; how many reflections may be made upon the actions of the great men there mentioned? It is not ſurprizing that auditors of underſtanding and taſte ſhould be charmed with the many excellent things they hear ſaid by the boys, and with ſeeing them apply what is moſt uſeful and ſolid in the ancient authors.

One of the exerciſes, which meets with the beſt ſucceſs, and is moſt pleaſing to the publick, is upon rhetorick. A boy is made to read certain ſelect paſſages of Tully and Quintilian, wherein the great principles of eloquence are laid down; and theſe he is made to learn by heart, during the courſe of the year, inſtead of his ordinary leſſons. He is then obliged to make an application of them to the orations of Demoſthenes and Tully, which have before been carefully explained to him. He is next made to point out the difference of ſtile and character in thoſe two great orators, who have been ever looked upon as the moſt perfect models of eloquence. The beſt lawyers we have, who were preſent in great numbers at ſuch an exerciſe, performed by the [m] ſon of an eminent magiſtrate, went away extremely well pleaſed; and it muſt be owned, the reſpondent ſpoke with all the grace that could be deſired.

There has lately been an attempt made to introduce a new kind of exerciſe into the college, which we have reaſon to hope will be attended with great advantage, from the good ſucceſs it has already met with. It relates to the French tongue. [n] Two younger brothers,

[m] The eldeſt ſon of the Procureur General M. de Fleury.

[n] Sons of the ſame M. de Fleury.

one

one of which was in the fifth claſs, and the other in the third, were made to read ſome ſelect remarks upon this language, that were carefully extracted from ſeveral books, which treat upon this ſubject. They made the application of them to certain paſſages, taken from the hiſtory of Theodoſius by M. Flechier, which were propoſed to them upon the opening of the book, and they obſerved at the ſame time, as is uſual in explaining a Latin author, whatever was moſt beautiful and remarkable, either as to thought and expreſſion, or the principles and conduct. This interrogation, added to the other ſubjects of that exerciſe, ſeemed very acceptable to the publick, and gave reaſon to wiſh that it may be continued for the future. And indeed is it not reaſonable to cultivate the ſtudy of our own natural tongue with ſome care, whilſt we ſpend ſo much time upon ancient and foreign languages?

### 2. *Of Tragedies.*

This kind of exerciſe has been of long ſtanding in the univerſity, and is ſtill in uſe in ſeveral colleges, whilſt others have wholly laid it aſide. Without taking upon me to condemn thoſe of my brethren, who think differently from me upon this head, which is not my office, I cannot avoid extremely approving their conduct, who think they ought abſolutely to reject the cuſtom of exerciſing boys in declamation, by making them repeat tragedies, as in my opinion this cuſtom is attended with very great inconveniencies.

1. What a burthen is it upon a regent to be obliged to make a tragedy? Is not the profeſſion hard enough of itſelf, without loading it ſtill farther with the yoke of ſo heavy and diſagreeable a taſk?

2. I call it an heavy and diſagreeable taſk, becauſe he can ſcarce ever promiſe himſelf that he ſhall ſucceed in it. We know how much pains M. Racine was at in compoſing the plays he has left behind him, and yet beſides an admirable genius for poetry, and very ſingular talents for theatrical repreſentations, he was

abſolute maſter of his time. What then can we expect from a regent, who is otherwiſe very much employed, and may have all the merit that belongs to his profeſſion, without the talent of writing good French verſe, much leſs of making large poems?

3. If any thing is likely to ruin the health of a profeſſor, it is the exerciſing eight or ten ſcholars in declaiming for a conſiderable time. He muſt have lungs of iron, as Juvenal expreſſes it of the maſters of rhetorick, to hold up under ſo terrible a fatigue.

*Declamare doces, ô ferrea pectora, Vetti.*

I appeal for the truth of it to experience.

4. It often happens, that the ſcholars under pretence of preparing for the tragedy, abandon or neglect the eſſential duty of the claſs for near two months, which is no ſmall inconvenience.

5. I do not inſiſt upon the expence, which neceſſarily attends theſe tragedies, nor upon the difficulty there often is to find actors, who ſometimes think they have a right to treat the profeſſor as they pleaſe, becauſe he cannot do without them.

6. Farther, the boys derive no ſolid or laſting advantage from this exerciſe. For uſually a day or two after the tragedy is acted, they forget all they have been at ſo much trouble to learn by heart.

Part of theſe inconveniencies has been endeavoured to be remedied, by making choice of tragedies compoſed by the beſt authors, and adapting them to the theatre of the colleges, that is, by cutting off the parts the women have in them; and it muſt be owned they have in ſome meaſure ſucceeded therein, and by this means have filled the memory of the boys with excellent pieces of poetry, which may be very uſeful for the improvement of their underſtanding and taſte.

7. But there may be a fault even in this cuſtom, which is common to good and bad tragedies. [n] Quin-

[n] Ne geſtus quidem omnis ac motus a comœdis petendus eſt. Quanquam enim utrumque eorum ad quendam modum præſtare debet orator, plurimum tamen aberit à Scenico. Quintil. lib. i. c. 11.

tilian

tilian obſerves after Tully, that there is a great difference between the pronunciation of players and orators; though it muſt be owned, that the one may be of ſervice to the other. If ſo, why ſhould we exerciſe the boys in a manner of pronunciation, which they muſt neceſſarily avoid when they come to ſpeak in publick?

8. One of the greateſt troubles of the regent in this exerciſe, as I have often experienced, and am not the only one that has done it, is to keep the ſcholars in order, whom he is often obliged to join all together, and over whom it is difficult to have a proper eye; as the care of forming the actors actually takes up the whole attention of the maſter.

9. To be ſhort, I ſhall conclude with the inconvenience that muſt be looked upon as the greateſt, as it may be prejudicial to piety and good manners; and that is, the danger there is in this ſort of exerciſe of creating a deſire both in maſters and ſcholars, as it very natural, of informing themſelves with their own eyes of the manner they ought to act tragedies, and to this end of frequenting the theatre, and growing fond of plays, which may have very bad conſequences, eſpecially at their age.

What contributes moſt, if I miſtake not, to continue the uſe of tragedies, is that ſeveral look upon them as the only means of giving a certain ſolemnity to the diſtribution of prizes ſo neceſſary to excite and ſupport a ſpirit of emulation among the boys, which is one of the great advantages of colleges. To this I cannot oppoſe a better anſwer than experience itſelf. I have ſeen the prizes diſtributed for above twenty years together in common exerciſes with very great ſolemnity, and a great concourſe of perſons of diſtinction, who during the whole exerciſe kept a profound ſilence, which does not always happen when plays are repreſented. This is not peculiar to one college. There are ſeveral wherein theſe exerciſes are performed with great reputation, and very lately in the college De la

Marche, there was one for the diſtribution of prizes, where the audience was very numerous and well choſen, and the [o] reſpondent acquired a very great reputation.

All theſe reaſons, joined together, make me think, that tragedies are leſs proper for the boys, than the other exerciſes I have ſpoke of. But as every one is at liberty to think as he pleaſes, and opinions differ upon this ſubject, I ſhall not blame thoſe who keep to the old cuſtom, and uſe all the caution neceſſary in it.

One of the moſt eſſential, in my opinion, is not to give the paſſion of love any admittance into the tragedies, how honeſt and lawful ſoever it may appear. "Whatever excites love, [p] ſays M. de Fenelon, the "more artful and concealed it lies, appears to me "more dangerous." M. de Rochefoucault is of the ſame opinion. "All great diverſions, ſays he, are "dangerous to a Chriſtian; but of all that have been "invented, there is none we have ſo much reaſon to "fear as plays. The paſſions are there ſo naturally "and artfully delineated, that they raiſe and imprint "them in our heart, eſpecially that of love: and prin- "cipally, when it is repreſented as chaſte and ho- "neſt: for the more innocent it appears to innocent "ſouls, the more capable they are of being affected "with it, &c."

I ſpeak not here of the balls and dancing, which ſometimes accompany tragedies, becauſe this cuſtom has no place in the univerſity.

There has farther crept in a more intolerable abuſe, expreſly [q] forbidden by the law of God; I cannot tell whence it aroſe, though it has laſted a long time; I mean that of dreſſing the boys in tragedies in women's clothes. Could they not know for the courſe of ſo many years, that ſuch a cuſtom, to uſe the words of Scripture, was abominable in the ſight of God? The im-

[o] The ſon of M. de Fleubet counſellor of parliament.

[p] Dialog. des Morts.

[q] The woman ſhall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither ſhall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do ſo are abomination unto the Lord thy God. Deut. xxii. 5.

prudence

prudence of ſome perſon, perhaps very ignorant, or not over religious, might have at firſt introduced it; and then the cuſtom was followed without reflection, when once eſtabliſhed. As ſoon as the univerſity forbad it, all the world opened their eyes, and ſubmitted to ſo prudent and neceſſary a regulation. Thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in it, were principally determined to it by what they had heard of a [r] famous profeſſor, a man of excellent probity, who upon his death-bed expreſſed a great concern for having given into this cuſtom, which he knew had occaſioned diſorders among ſome of his ſcholars. We ſhould place ourſelves in that hour and ſituation, to form a right judgment of what we ought to follow or reject in this life.

### 3. *Of Pronunciation.*

I have promiſed to ſay ſomewhat of pronunciation, which is a part of rhetorick, and this is the proper place for it. There is cauſe to fear that the maſters neglect it too much, both as to themſelves and their ſcholars. We ought, eſpecially in the higher claſſes, to ſet apart one day in the week to exerciſe the boys in declaiming, for at leaſt the ſpace of half an hour. This cuſtom was regularly practiſed whilſt I was a ſcholar, and I followed it exactly after I became a maſter. [s] Quintilian's treatiſe upon pronunciation is ſhort, but excellent; and may be very uſeful to the maſters, if they join with it that of [t] Tully. There is another in French, but in manuſcript, which belonged to the famous [u] M. Lenglet, who excelled in the art of pronouncing ſtill more than in other things. I ſhall make uſe of theſe different treatiſes in laying down the moſt general rules about pronunciation, and ſuch as are moſt in uſe.

r M. de Belleville profeſſor of rhetorick in the college du Pleſſis.

s Lib. xi. cap. 3.

t Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 213, 217.

u M. Lenglet had it of a famous actor in his time named Floridor.

[v] The anſwer of Demoſthenes, when aſked what he thought the chief point of eloquence, is known to all the world, and ſhews that this great man looked upon pronunciation, not only as the moſt important qualification of an orator, but in a certain ſenſe, as the only one. In ſhort it is that quality, which can leaſt of all conceal its own defects, and is moſt capable of hiding others; and we often ſee, that a mean diſcourſe delivered with all the force and charms of action has a better effect, than the moſt beautiful oration without them.

Action conſiſts of two parts, which are the voice and geſture, one of which ſtrikes the ears, and the other the eyes; two ſenſes by which we convey our ſentiments and thoughts into the minds of the hearers.

## I. *Of the Voice.*

[x] Quintilian aſcribes the ſame qualifications to the voice and pronunciation as to diſcourſe.

1. It muſt be correct, that is, exempt from faults, ſo that the ſound of the voice and the pronunciation may have ſomething eaſy, natural, and agreeable in it, accompanied with a certain air of politeneſs and delicacy, which the ancients called urbanity, and conſiſts in removing from him every foreign and ruſtick ſound.

2. The pronunciation muſt be clear, to which two things will contribute; firſt the right articulation of every ſyllable; for ſometimes ſome are ſuppreſſed, whilſt others are but lightly touched upon. But the moſt common fault, and moſt carefully to be avoided, is the not dwelling long enough upon the laſt ſyllables, and letting the voice fall at the end of periods. [y] As it

[v] Cic. l. iii. de orat. n. 213.

[x] Emendata erit, id eſt vitio carebit, ſi fuerit os facile, emendatum, jucundum, urbanum; id eſt, in quo nulla neque ruſticitas, neque peregrinitas reſonet. Quintil.

[y] Ut eſt autem neceſſaria verborum

it is neceſſary to expreſs every word, nothing is more diſagreeable or inſupportable, than a ſlow and drawling pronunciation, which calls over, in a manner, all the letters, and ſeems to count them one after another.

The ſecond obſervation is to know how to ſuſtain and ſuſpend the voice by the different reſts and pauſes, which enter into the ſame period. One inſtance will explain my meaning, which I ſhall take from another paſſage of [z] Quintilian. The points here expreſs the pauſes. *Animadverti judices, . . . . omnem accuſatoris orationem . . . in duas . . . diviſam eſſe partes.* This ſhort period contains but one ſenſe, which is not to be diſtinguiſhed by any comma, except at the word *judices*, which is an apoſtrophe; and yet the cadence, the ear, and even the breath require different reſts, in which all the harmony of pronunciation conſiſts. By accuſtoming the ſcholars to make theſe pauſes, as they read even where there are no commas, they will be taught at the ſame time to pronounce well.

3. An ornamented pronunciation is that which is aſſiſted with an happy organ, an eaſy, loud, flexible, firm, durable, clear, ſonorous, mild, and piercing voice. For there is a voice made for the ear; not ſo much by its compaſs, as by a facility of being managed at will, ſuſceptible of every ſound from the ſtrongeſt to the ſofteſt, from the higheſt to the loweſt[a]; like an inſtrument well ſtrung, which gives the ſound the hand directs it to expreſs. Beſides this, a great force of breath is required, and lungs capable of holding out through the longeſt periods, and of dwelling upon them.

We do not make ourſelves underſtood by violent and great pains, but by a clear and diſtinct pronunciation; and the principal ſkill is ſhewn in artfully

borum explanatio, ita omnes computare & velut annumerare literas, moleſtum & odioſum.

z Lib. ix. cap. 4.

a Omnes voces, ut nervi inſidibus, ita ſonant ut à motu animi quoque ſunt pulſæ. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 216.

managing the different ſallies of the voice, in beginning with a tone, that may be raiſed or depreſſed without difficulty or conſtraint, and in ſo governing the voice, that it may be fully exerted in ſuch paſſages, where the diſcourſe requires great force and vehemence, and principally ſtudying and copying nature in every thing.

The whole beauty of pronunciation lies in the union of two qualites, to all outward appearance oppoſite and inconſiſtent, equality and variety. By the firſt the orator ſuſtains his voice, and governs the riſe and fall of it by fixed rules, which hinder him from being high and low as by chance, without obſerving any order or proportion. By the ſecond he avoids one of the moſt conſiderable faults in pronunciation, I mean, a tedious keeping on in one and the ſame tone; and on the other hand he [b] diffuſes thro' it an agreeable variety, which awakens, raiſes and charms his audience, herein reſembling the painters, who by a vaſt number of ſhadows and colourings almoſt imperceptible, and an happy mixture of the light and ſhade, know how to ſet off their pictures, and give them the juſt proportions which every part demands. Quintilian applies this laſt rule to the firſt period of the exordium of Tully's beautiful oration in defence of Milo. This paſſage deſerves to be read to pupils.

There is another fault no leſs conſiderable, which likewiſe comes very near it, and is that of ſinging what one ſpeaks. This canting conſiſts in depreſſing or raiſing with a like tone ſeveral members of a period, or ſeveral periods together; ſo that the ſame inflections of the voice frequently return, and almoſt conſtantly in the ſame manner.

4. Laſtly, the pronunciation muſt be proportioned to the ſubjects expreſſed. This is more eſpecially ſeen

[b] Quid ad aures noſtras, & actionis ſuavitatem, quid eſt vicißitudine, & varietate, & commutatione ſpud? Lib. iii. de Orat. p. 225.

[c] Hi ſunt actori, ut pictori, expoſiti ad variandum colores. Ib. n. 217.

in

in the paſſions, which have [d] all, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, a peculiar language, and a particular tone. For anger ſhews itſelf one way, compaſſion another, and ſo the reſt. [e] To expreſs them well, we muſt begin with having a deep ſenſe of them; and to this end we ſhould livelily repreſent things to ourſelves, and be affected with them, as if they actually paſſed in us. Thus the voice, as the interpreter of our ſentiments, will eaſily convey the ſame diſpoſition into the mind of the auditors, it has derived from our own conceptions. It is the faithful image of the ſoul; it receives all the impreſſions and changes that the ſoul itſelf is capable of. Thus in joy it is clear, full and flowing; in ſorrow, on the other hand, it is ſlow, dull and gloomy. Anger makes it rough, impetuous and interrupting. In the confeſſion of a fault, making ſatisfaction, and intreating, it becomes ſmooth, fearful and ſubmiſſive. In a word, it follows nature, and borrows the tone of every paſſion.

The voice alſo varies, and aſſumes different tones, according to the different parts of a diſcourſe. It conforms itſelf to the difference of ſentiments, and ſometimes, though rarely, to the nature and force of certain particular expreſſions. [f] It would be evidently ridiculous, to begin a diſcourſe all at once with a loud and violent ſtrain; as nothing is more proper to gain upon others than modeſty and reſervedneſs. Narrations deſigned to intereſt the audience in the point related, require a ſimple, uniform and calm voice, not much different from what we uſe in converſation, and ſo of all the reſt.

d Omnes motus animi ſuum quendam à natura habet vultum, & ſonum, & geſtum, &c. iii. de Orat. n. 216—219.

e In his primum eſt bene affici, & concipere imagines rerum, & tanquam veris moveri. Sic velut media vox, quem habitum à nobis acceperit, hunc judicum animis dabit. Eſt enim mentis index, & velut exemplar: ac totidem, quot illa mutationes habet. Quiatil.

f A principio clamare, agreſte quiddam eſt. iii. de Orat. n. 227.

## II. *Of Geſture.*

Geſture naturally follows the voice, and conforms itſelf in like manner to the ſentiments of the ſoul. It is a mute language, but eloquent, and often has more force than ſpeech itſelf.

As the head has the firſt place among the parts of the body, it has it alſo in action. The firſt rule is to keep it up and in a natural poſture, the ſecond to ſuit its motions to the pronunciation and the action of the orator. When we refuſe or reject, or ſhew that we have an horror or execration of any thing or perſon, then at the ſame time that we repel with the hand, we turn aſide the head as a mark of averſion.

The countenance has a principal part in this point. There is a kind of motion or paſſion which it does not expreſs. It threatens, it careſſes, it intreats, it is ſorrowful and merry, it is proud and humble, it teſtifies friendſhip towards ſome, and averſion to others; it gives us to underſtand abundance of things, and often ſays more than the moſt eloquent diſcourſe could do.

I never could comprehend how the [g] uſe of maſks came to continue ſo long upon the ſtage of the ancients. For certainly, it could not but ſuppreſs in a great meaſure the vivacity of action which is principally ſeen in the countenance, and may properly be conſidered as the ſeat and mirror of all the ſentiments of the ſoul. Does it not frequently happen, that the blood, according as it is moved by different paſſions, ſhall ſometimes overſpread the countenance with a ſtulden and modeſt ſuffuſion, ſometimes inflame and kindle it into

g The actors wore maſks, which covered the whole head, and beſides the features of the face repreſented the beard, the hair, the ears, and all the ornaments of the womens head-dreſs. This may explain what Phædrus ſays in the fable of the maſk and the fox.

*Perſonam tragicam fortè vulpes vidérat,*
*O quantæ ſpecies! inquit; cerebrum non habet.*

rage,

rage, ſometimes by retiring from the cheeks, leave them pale and cold with fear, and at other times diffuſe thro' it a gentle and amiable ſerenity. All this is expreſſed in the countenance. Now a maſk, by covering it, deprives it of this emphatical language, and takes from it a kind of life and ſoul, which makes it the faithful interpreter of all the ſentiments of the heart. I am not therefore ſurprized at the remark which Tully makes, when he is ſpeaking of Roſcius as an actor. Our old men, [h] ſays he, judge better than we, by not entirely approving even Roſcius himſelf, whilſt he ſpoke under his maſk.

[i] But the countenance has likewiſe one part ſupereminent above the reſt, viz. the eyes. 'Tis by them eſpecially that the ſoul diſplays itſelf, and ſhews itſelf in a manner externally; ſo that even without moving of them, joy ſhall make them more lively, and ſorrow overcaſt them with a kind of cloud. Add to this, that nature has given them tears, the faithful interpreters of our thoughts, which impetuouſly force themſelves a paſſage in grief, and flow gently down in joy. But how expreſſive are they in the different motions imparted to them; they are bold or languid, haughty and threatening, mild, rough or terrible, and all this according to our wants, and the occaſion?

To be ſhort [k], I paſs to the hands, without the aſſiſtance of which, action would be languid and almoſt dead. How many motions are they capable of, ſince there is ſcarce a word which they are not ſometimes eager to expreſs? For the other parts of the body aid and con-

[h] Quo melius noſtri illi ſenes, qui perſonatum, ne Roſcium quidem, magnopere laudabant. Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

[i] Sed in ipſo vultu plurimum valent oculi, per quos animus maximè emanat, ut, citra motum quoque, & hilaritate enitescant, & triſtitia quoddam nubilum ducant. Quinetiam lacrymas his natura mentis indices dedit: quæ, aut erumpunt dolore, aut lætitia manant. Motu verò intenti, remiſſi, ſuperbi, torvi, mites, aſperi fiunt: quæ, ut actus popoſcerit, fingentur. Quintil.

[k] Manus vero, ſine quibus trunca eſſet actio ac debilis, vix dici poteſt quot motus habeant, cùm pene ipſam verborum copiam perſequantur. Nam cetera partes loquentem adjuvant: hæ (prope eſt ut dicam) ipſæ loquuntur.

tribute to diſcourſe, but theſe may be almoſt ſaid to ſpeak of themſelves, and be underſtood. We know that the [l] Pantomimes profeſſed to repreſent exactly, and in a manner to paint in their geſtures and poſtures all the actions and paſſions of mankind. [m] The ancients called this act of the Pantomimes a kind of dumb muſick, which had found out a method of ſubſtituting the language of the hands to that of the mouth, of ſpeaking to the eyes by the aſſiſtance of the fingers, and of expreſſing by ſilence, more eloquent and emphatical than words themſelves, what could ſcarce be explained by diſcourſe or writing.

The motion of the hands naturally follows the voice, and muſt conform to it. In common geſture, whilſt we pronounce a period, we muſt carry the right hand from left to right, beginning at the breaſt and ending at the ſide, the fingers being a little raiſed above the wriſt, open and at liberty, and the arm extended at full length, without raiſing the elbow as high as the ſhoulder, but keeping it always clear of the body, and obſerving that the geſture muſt ordinarily begin with the motion of the elbow. After this we carry the left-hand from right to left, with the ſame proportions as were obſerved in the motion of the right hand. The arm muſt be held after each geſture cloſe

[l] A Prince of Pontus coming to Nero's court upon ſome buſineſs, and having ſeen a famous Pantomime dance with ſo much art, that though he underſtood nothing of what was ſung, yet he was ſtrictly able to comprehend what was meant, upon his departure deſiring the Emperor to make him a preſent of that dancer. And upon Nero's aſking what uſe he would make of him; why, ſays he, I have certain barbarians bordering upon my dominions, who ſpeak a language which no body underſtands, and this man by his geſtures ſhall ſerve me as an interpreter. Lucian de ſaltat.

[m] Hanc partem muſicæ diſciplinæ mutam nominavere majores ſcilicet quæ ore clauſo manibus loquitur, & quibuſdam geſticulationibus facit intelligi, quod vix narrante lingua, aut ſcripturæ textu, poſſet agnoſci. Aurel. Caſſiod. lib. i. Epiſt. 30.

Loquaciſſimæ manus, linguæ digiti, clamoſum ſilentium, expoſitio tacita. . . . Idem, lib. iv. Epiſt. ult.

Mirari ſolemus Seenæ peritos, quòd in omnem ſignificationem rerum & affectuum parata illorum eſt manus, & verborum velocitatem geſtus ſequitur. Senec. Epiſt. 121.

to

to the ſide, till the period is at an end; and when it is finiſhed, the two hands muſt fall negligently upon the deſk, if it is from thence we ſpeak, and never below it; or at their full length before, if we ſpeak ſtanding, without any ſupport; or upon the knees, if ſitting on a chair. There are a thouſand methods of varying theſe geſtures, which are to be learnt from uſe and exerciſe alone.

There is a ſecond kind of geſture relating to the extent and dimenſions of every thing.

To expreſs any thing that is high, we muſt lift up our eyes as high as we can, without ſcarce raiſing the head, but turning it a little on one ſide, and throwing down both arms together at their full length, but keeping them clear of the body, and ſo as to have the outſide of the hands turned towards the auditor.

To ſhew the depth of any thing, we muſt caſt our eyes down to the ground, and ſtretch out both our arms on the oppoſite ſide ſomewhat raiſing them, and ſhewing the outſide of the hand, which is next the auditor, the other remaining more raiſed and free.

To expreſs breadth, it ſuffices to extend both hands at the ſame time, beginning always directly before us, and ending at the two ſides, but ſo as to keep the hands always upon a level with the wriſts, and to carry our eyes round the whole ſpace they are able to comprehend.

To expreſs length, we muſt ſtretch out both our arms either this way or that, but on the ſame ſide, ſo as to keep the hands upon a level with the wriſt, the elbow, and one another, the inſide of the hands being turned downwards.

The third kind of geſture relates to the paſſions. This matter is too large poſſibly to enter into an account ſo ſhort as this, in which my deſign is only to lay down the moſt general and neceſſary rules. The maſters will eaſily ſupply the reſt.

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The maſters of the art take notice, that the motion of the hand muſt begin and end with the ſenſe, becauſe otherwiſe it muſt either precede the diſcourſe, or laſt longer than it. Now both theſe would be faulty.

We muſt not pretend to lay down fixed and certain rules upon the ſubject I am here treating of. One thing, as Quintilian obſerves, ſuiting well with one, which would ſit ill upon another, without our ſometimes being able to give a reaſon for it; ſo far, that in ſome the [n] refinements of pronunciation ſhall not be graceful, and in others the very faults not diſpleaſe. [o] Thus every one in forming his action muſt not only conſult the general rules, but carefully ſtudy his own actual diſpoſition and perſonal qualifications.

But the moſt important precept of all, both as to the voice or geſture, is to ſtudy nature, to look upon it here as in every thing elſe, as the beſt maſter and ſureſt guide that can be followed, to place the perfection of the art in a perfect imitation of it, endeavouring only after the example of painters to embelliſh and ſet it off a little, but without ever ſwerving from a juſt likeneſs. When children are at liberty amongſt themſelves, and when in diſcourſing together they break out into ſome heat, they are under no difficulty in ſeeking either for tone or geſture. All comes to them as it were mechanically, becauſe they only follow the impulſe of nature. Why, when they are put upon declamation, do we find them for the moſt part almoſt dumb, motionleſs, confuſed and perplexed? It is, becauſe they think that then they muſt ſpeak and act in a very different manner, in which they are much miſtaken. For which reaſon we cannot too early, when children are put upon ſpeaking in the claſſes, or made to repeat their leſſons, accuſtom them to aſſume a natural tone, that is, ſuch as they uſe in their fa-

[n] In quibuſdam virtutes non habent gratiam, in quibuſdam vitia ipſa delectant.

[o] Quare norit ſe quiſque, nec tantùm ex communibus præceptis, ſed etiam ex naturâ ſuâ capiat conſilium formandæ actionis.

miliar

miliar diſcourſe; and the ſame may be ſaid of any one that is to ſpeak in publick. Nor is this obſervation contrary to the ſtudy of the voice and geſture, which I have ſo earneſtly recommended. This ſtudy ſhould be applied to in the cloſet; but when he comes to ſpeak, the orator muſt not ſeem to have ſtudied it at all. All muſt flow eaſily from him. Art muſt look like nature, his voice and geſture muſt ſhew nothing ſtudied, and he muſt call to mind this great principle, which in general relates to all the parts of eloquence: [p] *Nothing is beautiful but what is true. Only truth is amiable.*

## ARTICLE the THIRD.

### *Of Compoſitions and publick Actions.*

IT is by compoſitions, either in verſe or proſe, that the regents do moſt honour to their colleges, and eſtabliſh their own reputation in a more eminent manner. The univerſity has at all times abounded in famous poets and orators, who have ſtrove to keep up the glory it has ſo long acquired, of ſhining and excelling in all kinds of literature; and every profeſſor muſt look upon this glory of the univerſity as a precious inheritance, which he is obliged to preſerve, and if poſſible, to augment by his labour and application.

The compoſitions I am here ſpeaking of are commonly ſuch as celebrate the name and actions of princes, generals, miniſters and magiſtrates, in a word, all the great men who diſtinguiſh themſelves in any reſpect whatſoever; and it is a kind of publick homage, which the univerſity pays to virtue and merit.

[p] Deſpreaux, Ep. 9.

But

But it muſt be remembered, that this homage is in reality due only to virtue and merit; and that when it is not founded upon truth, it degenerates into a ſhameful adulation, equally diſhonourable to the perſon who commends, and the perſon commended. We muſt therefore never praiſe what is not truly laudable; and that uſually with modeſty and caution, avoiding all extravagant exaggerations, which ſerve only to render what we ſay ſuſpected.

There is a manner of commending ſo evidently falſe, and ſo directly oppoſite to the taſte and judgment of the publick, that a perſon of common ſenſe in my opinion cannot help avoiding it. Thus when Nero made the funeral oration of the Emperor Claudius, his predeceſſor, he was [q] attentively heard in all the reſt; but when he came to ſpeak of his prudence and wiſdom, the audience could not help laughing, though the oration was very eloquent, and drawn up by Seneca, who had a very fruitful genius and a very florid ſtile, according to the taſte of that age, though he ſometimes wanted judgment.

There is another fault leſs ſhocking in appearance, but not leſs blameable, becauſe it is contrary to religion; and that is to give Princes the attributes which belong only to God, by conſidering them as the maſters of nature; as diſpoſing of it at their pleaſure; as changing the order of the ſeaſons as they think fit, and making them believe that by conferring the title of miniſter, they likewiſe confer merit; an impious flattery, not to be paid even in a Pagan, who applying to an Emperor, that had aſſumed the character of a God, and had committed to his care the education of the young Princes his nephews, [r] intreats him

[q] Cetera pronis animis audita. Poſtquam ad providentiam ſapientiamque flexit, nemo riſui temperare, quamquam oratio a Senecâ compoſita, multo in cultu placeret, ut fuit liber ingenium ad omnia, & temporis illius auribus accommodatum. Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 3.

[r] Ut quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii adjiciat, dexteræque ac voluntati, quæ nunc, quoniam ei credunt, fatuæ. Quintil. lib. xi. in Præf.

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to inſpire him with all the underſtanding, that was neceſſary in the diſcharge of ſo noble an employment, and make him ſuch as he judged him to be. There is a jealous ear, that I may uſe the ſcripture expreſſion, which hears ſuch diſcourſes with indignation, [s] *Auris zeli, audit omnia*; and we cannot ſay how far ſuch blaſphemies, for I do not ſcruple to call them ſo, are capable of drawing down misfortunes and curſes on a Chriſtian kingdom.

The taſte of ſound eloquence inſpires a very different manner, and infuſes, eſpecially in point of praiſe, a prudent diſcretion and a wiſe ſobriety. We muſt herein imitate, as much as is poſſible, the ingenious and artful addreſs of the ancients, who knew how to praiſe in a curious and delicate manner, and ſometimes even whilſt they ſeemed to be employed upon ſomewhat elſe. [t] Tully, in his beautiful oration for Ligarius ſays, he hopes that Cæſar, *who never forgets any thing but the injuries that have been offered him*, will call to mind the inviolable attachment which the brother of Ligarius had to him; *Qui obliviſci nihil ſolet præter injurias.* One word thrown into a diſcourſe in this manner, is worth a whole panegyrick.

[u] Horace declaring that he has not capacity ſufficient to deſcribe the glorious victories of Auguſtus, ſeems to have nothing in view but to anſwer thoſe, who had adviſed him to leave off writing ſatire; but his real deſign was to commend that Prince in ſuch a manner, as might not offend his extreme delicacy in point of commendation; *cui male ſi palpére, recalcitrat undique tutus.* The reply he makes by Trebatius, that at leaſt he might celebrate the private and pacifick virtues of Auguſtus, his juſtice, his conſtancy and magnanimity, as Lucilius had done Scipio's; this turn, I ſay, is in the ſame taſte, and ſtill more pleaſing, by the indirect compariſon of this Prince with ſo great a man as Scipio was.

[s] Wiſd. i. 10. [t] Cic. pro Ligar. n. 35. [u] Lib. 2. Sat. 1.

M. Deſ-

M. Deſpreaux, the worthy diſciple of Horace, has in ſeveral paſſages imitated his maſter's ſkill in commending; but I queſtion whether any where in a more beautiful and ingenious manner, than where he puts the panegyrick of Lewis the fourteenth into the mouth of Sloth.

Ah, where are fled thoſe happy times of peace,
When idle kings, diſſolv'd in thoughtleſs eaſe,
Reſign'd their ſcepters, and the toils of ſtate
To counts, or ſome inferior magiſtrate:
Loll'd on their thrones, devoid of thought or pain;
And nodding ſlumber'd out a lazy reign?———
But 'tis no more: That golden age is gone,
And an unwearied Prince fills Gallia's throne.
Each day he frights me with the noiſe of arms,
Slights my embraces, and defies my charms.
In vain does nature, ſeas and rocks oppoſe
To bar his virtue, which undaunted goes
Thro' Lybia's burning ſands, and Scythia's ſnows.
His name alone my trembling ſubjects dread;
Not his own cannon does more terror ſpread.

This is a maſter-piece in its kind, and whoever can introduce any thing like it into a copy of verſes, may ſafely rely upon the approbation of the publick.

Praiſes and panegyricks are not the only ſubjects of poems and publick act. Others may be choſen, which are no leſs fruitful to the orator, and may equally pleaſe perſons of a good taſte; ſuch as diſſertations upon eloquence, poetry, hiſtory, or ſome point of literature. Examples may be found in the collection, which has lately been publiſhed of ſeveral pieces in verſe or proſe by the profeſſors of the univerſity.

As the diſcourſes I am now ſpeaking of, whether panegyricks or diſſertations, are principally made for ſhew, I know, that according to the rules of ſound rhetorick, one may pompouſly diſplay in them the riches of eloquence; and the art which elſewhere ſhould be concealed, may here ſhew itſelf with more

liberty.

r. But yet this muſt be done with caution; and ıuſt remember that a ſolid and judicious diſ- : will always meet with applauſe, and that we not ſtrive to be diſtinguiſhed by witticiſm and .ng, and eſpecially muſt take care to avoid ſuch ed turns, and that kind of points which may an ignorant multitude, but diſguſt every ſen- ınd judicious hearer.

ıe panegyrick of Trajan by Pliny the younger, )llection of ſuch diſcourſes entitled *Panegyrici ve-* and ſtill more the works of Seneca, may ſupply ator with abundance of thoughts, but he muſt ſt them by the ſtile of Cicero. We have like- excellent models of this kind, in the funeral ora- and academical diſcourſes of the moderns.

## ARTICLE the FOURTH.

### *Of the Studies of the Maſters.*

THAT I have ſaid of compoſitions and pub- lick acts makes a great outward ſhew, but not comprehend the eſſential duty of a regent, h conſiſts in the ſolid inſtruction he owes to his ars. To ſucceed in this, he ſtands in need of la- and ſtudy. Even the loweſt claſſes require a cer- legree of learning, which is not to be acquired y reading. Beſides, a profeſſor ordinarily does top there, and muſt qualify himſelf for paſſing the ſuperior claſſes.

regent's firſt ſtudy muſt relate to the points he ıes, and the authors he explains. Thus for in- e, a grammarian is not allowed to be ignorant of the ancients have written upon grammar, and eſs of what the Meſſ. de Port Royal have left us that head. A profeſſor of rhetorick muſt have imbibed

imbibed his art from the ſame ſources, and have thoroughly ſtudied the old Greek and Latin rhetoricians. Not that either of them ſhould load their ſcholars with a great number of precepts, but in order to make a choice they muſt all be known; and an able maſter, that hath both judgment and capacity, will find great aſſiſtance from what he reads toward inſtructing youth.

I am of the ſame opinion with reſpect to authors. The moſt eaſy have their obſcurities; and a regent muſt have all the interpreters, or at leaſt the moſt eſteemed upon thoſe he explains. There are indeed abundance of trifles amongſt a great many ſolid remarks; but he muſt make choice, and diſtribute ſuch only among his ſcholars, as are ſuitable to their age and capacity.

Beſides the ſtudy of the claſs, a regent muſt acquire ſuch a fund of erudition, as is eſſential to a man of letters: He ſhould be well acquainted with the Greek, and no ſtranger to hiſtory; nor muſt the extent of theſe branches of knowledge frighten him from purſuing them. It is incredible how far an hour or two ſpent regularly every day in ſtudy, will carry him by the end of the year; let him but have courage only to begin, and if poſſible to join himſelf to ſome diligent and well diſpoſed perſon of the fraternity, and let them confer together upon the authors they have ſeparately read, and read nothing without making extracts, noting what relates to different ſubjects, as eloquence, poetry, hiſtory and antiquity. I remember to have read over in this manner a great while ago, almoſt all the lives of Plutarch with a ſkilful friend, who had an excellent taſte. We ſet apart an afternoon in every week for this ſmall conference, which was made as we walked abroad, when the weather permitted. We mutually communicated what we had found moſt beautiful and remarkable, each propoſed his difficulties, and we were often ſurprized that we had paſſed over paſſages too lightly, in the notion that we had underſtood them, when in reality we did not.

I know

I know no exercise more agreeable to persons of learning and understanding, than such walks and conversations.

Livy had been read over entirely sometime before in such conferences, held once a week in the college de Beauvais, where some professors of other colleges were sometimes pleased to be present; and though the conversation was not long, for it began after school time in the evening, yet at the end of a certain number of years the author was read through, and the work finished. M. Crevier, now regent of the second class in the college de Beauvais, held the pen and took down all the remarks, which he one day designs to give the publick, with a new edition of that author, which I hope will be to general satisfaction.

It is plain, that a certain number of books are requisite for this sort of study; and I cannot too earnestly advise the professors to collect each of them a small library, greater or less, according to their wants and income. The King's liberality in establishing a gratuitous instruction in all our colleges, has enabled us, and I may add, laid us under an obligation of putting ourselves to this expence, which is as absolutely necessary to our profession, as the instruments in any trade are to the workmen. * Alcibiades meeting with a school-master, who had none of Homer's works, could not forbear giving him a box on the ear, and treating him as an ignorant fellow, and one who could not make any other than ignorant scholars; and might not we say the same thing of a professor, who has no books

It is difficult to have a taste for letters without having one for books, which are the enjoyment of a man of sense, especially in his old age, as Tully elegantly observes in a letter to his friend Atticus, where he intreats him to reserve his library for him, which he designed to purchase with part of his revenue. * *Bib-*

* *Ælian*, lib. iii. cap. 38. * Lib. i. Ep. 9.

*liothecam tuam cave cuiquam deſpondeas, quamvis aerem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnes meas vindemiolas ei reſervo, ut illud ſubſidium ſenectuti parem.* In another letter he tells him, that this acquiſition will complete his wiſhes, and make him the happieſt man in the world. *Noli deſperare fore ut libros tuos facere poſſim meos. Quod ſi aſſequor, ſupero Craſſum divitiis; atque omnium agros, lucos, prata contemno.*

Whilſt I am writing this, I am informed that a profeſſor, affected with the ſame deſires as Tully, and with the ſame taſte, has not ſcrupled to charge himſelf with an annuity of four hundred livres a year, in order to purchaſe the library of one of his brethren [y] lately deceaſed in the univerſity, who had made a good uſe of his books. I wiſh the example of both may meet with followers.

We are nearly concerned to excite amongſt us, or rather to preſerve that taſte of knowledge and learning, which has always reigned in the univerſity, and to excite in ourſelves a noble emulation by the remembrance of the great men, who have done it ſo much honour, and whoſe names are ſo well known, and ſo much reſpected throughout the Chriſtian world, Budæus, Turnebus, Ramus, Lambinus, Muretus, Buchanan, Paſſeratius, Caſaubon, all profeſſors in the univerſity, or the college royal.

'Tis this taſte of learning and books, which has acquired France ſo many famous Printers, that have carried the art of printing to the higheſt degree of perfection. I cannot help inſerting here what we read in M. Baillet, concerning the famous Stephens's, who have rendered their name immortal, not only by the neatneſs and beauty of their Hebrew, Greek and Roman characters, but their ſingular exactneſs, and

[y] M. Heuzet, author of the two Latin books for the uſe of young beginners, which I have mentioned above, and who was farther preparing to publiſh ſome other pieces, that might be very uſeful to youth.

their

their ability and great diſintereſtedneſs, which made them preſer the publick intereſt to their own.

The œconomy of Robert Stephens's houſe, " ſays this author, was excellent. He received no workmen into his printing-houſe, but ſuch as were ſkilled in Greek and Latin, and capable of being maſters elſewhere. He had beſides this, men and maids, who were not allowed to talk any thing but Latin, as well as all the workmen in the printing-houſe. His wife and daughter underſtood it perfectly, and were obliged with all the domeſticks to talk nothing elſe. So that the ſtore-houſes, the chambers, the ſhop, the kitchen, in a word, from the top of the houſe to the bottom, all ſpoke Latin at Robert Stephens's. This generous printer had uſually ten men of learning in his houſe, all of them foreigners, who corrected his impreſſions under him; and not ſatisfied with the application he gave to the correction of the ſeveral proofs which came from his preſſes, he publickly expoſed the printed ſheets before they were taken off, and promiſed a reward to ſuch as ſhould find out any faults in them.

The ſhop of that famous printer was almoſt admirable, for the zeal, taſte, and eager purſuit after books and ſciences; for application and exactneſs in the diſcharge of his duty; for diſintereſtedneſs, nobleneſs of ſoul and ſentiments, and the love of the publick. It certainly would not be wrong or diſhonourable in us to copy after ſo excellent a pattern; and this has been my view in this ſmall digreſſion, which I hope the reader will excuſe.

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WE fear that the following "Signs of Prosperity" are very old-fashioned:

Where spades grow bright, and idle swords grow dull;
Where jails are empty, and where barns are full;
Where church paths are with frequent feet outworn;
Law court yards weedy, silent and forlorn;
Where doctors foot it, and where farmers ride;
Where age abounds, and youth is multiplied;
Where these signs are, they clearly indicate
A happy people and well-governed state.

## ARTICLE the FIFTH.

### *The application of ſome particular rules to the government of the Claſſes.*

THERE is nothing mentioned in this work, but what is commonly practiſed in the claſſes, excepting two articles, the one relating to the ſtudy of the French tongue, and the other to hiſtory, upon which I could wiſh that more time and care were ſpent than is uſual. Under the ſtudy of hiſtory I comprehend geography, chronology, fable and antiquities. There is often occaſion to ſpeak of them in the claſſes, but they are not uſually taught there in a conſtant and regular manner by principles and method.

Theſe ſtudies are allowed to be an important part of the education of youth, and to be either abſolutely neceſſary to them, or at leaſt extremely uſeful. But it is queſtioned, whether they can enter into the ſcheme of the claſſes, where the whole time ſeems taken up with the multiplicity of the other matters taught in them; and certainly the caſe is not without difficulty, though I do not think it abſolutely impracticable.

Firſt, as to the French tongue, half an hour twice or thrice a week ſpent upon this ſtudy might ſuffice, becauſe continued through the whole courſe of all the claſſes. 'Till ſuch time as a book is drawn up for the uſe of the boys, containing the moſt neceſſary rules of grammar, and the principal obſervations of M. de Vaugelas, P. Bouhours, &c. upon the French tongue, the maſters may content themſelves with explaining one or other of them to their ſcholars by word of mouth, and making the application of them to ſome beautiful paſſage in a French book. Fifteen or twenty rules and obſervations would ſuffice for one year.

Hiſtory

Hiſtory might be diſtributed in the following manner. That of the Old and New Teſtament ſhould be for the three loweſt claſſes, the ſixth, fifth, and fourth; Fable and Antiquities for the third; the Greek Hiſtory for the ſecond; the Roman down to the Emperors for Rhetorick; and laſtly, the Hiſtory of the Emperors for Philoſophy.

I do not mean, that all theſe portions of hiſtory ſhould be explained to the boys in their claſs, for that would take up too much time, and be abſolutely impoſſible; but I would have a certain taſk given them to be read by themſelves in private every day, which they ſhould be obliged to give an account of from time to time in their claſs. To this end it would be requiſite to have books drawn up expreſly for the uſe of boys.

We have two excellent ones for ſacred hiſtory, to wit, the Hiſtorical Catechiſm of M. l'Abbé Fleury, which may ſerve in the ſixth; and the Abridgement of the Old Teſtament, lately printed for John Deſaint, which the Journals of Paris and Trevoux have very much recommended, may ſerve for the fifth and fourth. The firſt is a ſhort abridgement made expreſly for children, and adapted to the meaneſt capacity; the other is much larger, and includes the moſt beautiful and remarkable parts of the Old Teſtament, either in point of facts, ſentiments, or maxims.

I hope we ſhall ſoon have a ſmall treatiſe upon the fabulous hiſtory, proper to be put into the hands of the boys. In the mean time they may make uſe of that of Galtrucius or F. Jouvenci. I have already mentioned a ſmall abridgement of the Roman Antiquities printed in 1706, which may ſerve till a larger is compoſed.

What we moſt want, are hiſtories of the Greeks and Romans, expreſly written for the uſe of youth. I have engaged to write the former, and ſhall diligently employ myſelf about it. Others may turn their views and pains upon the Roman Hiſtory; in the mean

while, we may make uſe of the Univerſal Hiſtory of M. de Meaux; which indeed is a very ſhort abridgement as to facts, but makes a conſiderable amends by the excellent reflections it contains. We have another abridgement of the Roman Hiſtory tranſlated from the Engliſh of Lawrence Echard, which is a very good one, and long enough. The Hiſtory of the Revolutions of the Roman Republick, by M. l'Abbé de Vertot, and that of the Triumvirate, may ſuffice to give the boys a juſt idea of the latter times of the republick.

It would be a very uſeful work, and in my opinion a very eaſy one, to abridge what M. de Tillemont has left us upon the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors. We find in this hiſtory illuſtrious examples of the greateſt virtues, and perfect models in the art of government. The reading of this work would ſuit mighty well with the ſtudents in philoſophy, and equally prepare them for the ſtudy of theology and of the law. By this means the boys would have a tolerable knowledge of ancient hiſtory, and be much better qualified to enter afterwards upon the ſtudy of the modern.

Upon the bare expoſition, which I have made, every one will doubtleſs agree, that it were to be wiſhed ſuch a plan could be executed; as it is evident, that the boys inſtructed in this manner would carry away from college abundance of uſeful and agreeable knowledge, which might be of great ſervice to them all the reſt of their lives. Let us examine therefore whether this plan is practicable or no. Now in the manner I propoſe it, it is in my opinion very eaſily reduced to practice. For I require only of the profeſſors to ſet their ſcholars every day a certain taſk, and appoint them a certain number of pages to read in the books of hiſtory, which I ſuppoſe they have in their hands, and to make them give an account from time to time of what they read, which may amount to about half an hour every day. I know well that ſeveral of them may happen to miſapply this time, and the ſame will fall out in all their other ſtudies. But as this is

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by far the moſt agreeable, there is cauſe to hope, that the greateſt number will apply to it with pleaſure, eſpecially if care be taken to ſet a mark of honour upon it, to give it admiſſion into the publick exerciſes, to propoſe prizes and rewards for ſuch as ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves in it, and to employ all the means which the induſtry of an able and diligent maſter will not fail to ſuggeſt to him.

Chronology is naturally joined to hiſtory, and nothing is more eaſy, or takes up leſs time, than to give the boys a general idea of it, ſufficient to let them know very nearly at what time the events paſſed which they read of; and that is all that can be expected from them. We muſt likewiſe never fail to make them acquainted in ſome meaſure with the author explained to them, the principal circumſtances of his life, and the time when he lived. One day as I was explaining the paſſage where Quintilian mentions the Greek hiſtorians, a young man aſked me, why he made no mention of Plutarch. He had read ſeveral of his lives, but had not been taught at what time and under what emperors he lived.

As to geography, it may be taught the boys without taking up much time or trouble. The plaineſt and eaſieſt way of fixing it in the memory, and at the ſame time hiſtorical events, is whenever a city, river, or iſland is mentioned in an author, to be exact in pointing them out upon a map By following a general thro' all his expeditions, ſuch as an Hannibal, a Scipio, a Pompey, a Cæſar, or an Alexander, the boys will have occaſion to paſs over all the memorable places of the world, and by that means imprint for ever in their mind, the ſeries of facts and ſituation of towns. When they are a little accuſtomed to this method, it will be very eaſy to teach them the degrees of longitude and latitude, and the whole doctrine of the ſphere. Thus it may be very proper, in order to teach them modern geography, to engage them ſometimes at home to read certain pages of the Gazette, and oblige them.

to trace out upon the map the different places mentioned in it. All this is but a kind of diverſion, and yet will teach them geography in a more laſting manner, than all the regular leſſons that are given them in form.

What I am here ſaying ſuppoſes, that the children have maps in their chambers, and indeed they ſhould never be without them; and I queſtion whether it would not be profitable to have them likewiſe in every claſs. It would be ſufficient to have a large map of the world, with maps of the Roman Empire, Greece, and Aſia Minor, and ſome few others of the like ſort. The expence would not be very great, and might fall upon the ſcholars, as theſe maps muſt be renewed from time to time. I know that this cuſtom has been put in practice in ſome colleges with ſucceſs. Perhaps alſo one might add to them two tables of chronology, one of which ſhould come down to the birth of Chriſt, and the other to our own times.

In propoſing theſe different ſtudies, I do not mean that the Latin or Greek tongues ſhould either of them be neglected. We may eaſily, if I am not miſtaken, reconcile them together. What ſhould principally prevail in the claſſes is the buſineſs of explication; that of a Greek author eſpecially I would never have omitted, but that half an hour ſhould be ſpent upon it every day. This is a ſmall matter, and yet when that time is regularly employed, it goes a great way by the end of the year. The repetition of leſſons requires the leaſt time, as it is the leaſt ſerviceable to the ſcholars; a quarter of an hour in my opinion is enough for it, eſpecially in ſuch claſſes as are not very numerous, and the rather as it returns twice a day; and on Saturdays, when the leſſons of the whole week are repeated, a longer time is ſpent upon it.

The care of a maſter, who is concerned for the welfare of his ſcholars, and wiſely frugal of time, will induce him to manage every moment with ſo much œconomy, that he will find enough for all the ſtudies I have mentioned.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

### *Of the Duty of Parents.*

QUintilian will have the parents duty commence from the very moment their children are born, by the care he requires them to take of procuring them nurſes, and having ſervants about them of known wiſdom and probity; and he afterwards inſiſts upon a continual diligence in removing from them whatever may be capable of affecting their innocence the leaſt in the world, and will allow nothing to be ſaid or done in their preſence, which may inſpire them with dangerous principles, or ſet them a bad example.

What concerns parents in the caſe I am here treating of, is firſt the choice of a maſter and a college, ſuppoſing that they reſolve to ſend their children thither. [a] Quintilian fully points out to us this double obligation in a few words. He requires that the maſter ſhould be a man of conſummate virtue. *Præceptorem eligere ſanctiſſimum quemque, cujus rei præcipua prudentibus cura eſt*; and that an exact and regular diſcipline ſhould be kept up in the college, *& diſciplinam, quæ maximè ſevera fuerit.*

The younger Pliny, in one of his letters, wherein he recommends to a lady of his acquaintance a profeſſor of rhetorick for her ſon, lays down admirable inſtructions upon this ſubject, which properly concern the choice of a college and a regent, as the paſſage of Quintilian, which I have quoted above, but may likewiſe relate to that of a preceptor. The paſſage is too beautiful not to be repeated here at full length.

"[b] The only means to enable your ſon to tread "worthily in the footſteps of his anceſtors, is to ſet "over

[a] Lib. i. cap. 2.

[b] Lib iii. Ep 3. Quibus omnibus (avis & majoribus) ita demum ſimilis adoleſcet, ſi imbutus honeſtis artibus fuerit: quas plurimum refert à quo potiſſimùm accipiat. Adhuc illum puritiæ ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit:

" over him a good guide, who knows how to point
" out to him the paths of knowledge and honour;
" but the choice of this guide is a matter of great
" importance. Hitherto he has been brought up by
" his preceptors under your inſpection, and in a pri-
" vate houſe, where the dangers, if any, are very
" ſmall; but now he is to be ſent abroad to attend
" upon publick lectures, you muſt make choice of a
" profeſſor of eloquence, in whoſe ſchool you are aſ-
" ſured there is obſerved an exact diſcipline, and
" above all a great modeſty and purity of manners;
" for amongſt the other advantages this youth has
" received from nature and fortune, he is extremely
" beautiful, and this lays you under farther obliga-
" tions, in ſo weak and dangerous an age, to ſet
" over him a maſter, who may ſerve not only as a
" preceptor to him, but likewiſe as a guide and a
" guardian."

" " I know no body more proper to diſcharge this
" office than Julius Genitor. I love him, and the
" friendſhip I have for him does not influence my
" judgment, to which it owes its exiſtence. He is
" grave and unblameable, perhaps ſomewhat too auſ-
" tere and rough in his behaviour, according to the

noſtri: præceptores domi habuit, ubi eſt vel ſcribus modica, vel etiam nulla materia. Jam ſtudia ejus extra limen proferenda ſunt; jam circumſpiciendus Rhetor Latinus, cujus ſchole ſeveritas, pudor, ut primus cultus conſtet. Adeſt enim adoleſcenti noſtro, cum cæteris naturæ fortunæque dotibus, exima corporis pulchritudo; cui in hoc lubrico ætatis non præceptor modo, ſed cuſtos etiam rectorque quærendus eſt.

" Video ego denique tibi poſſe Julium Genitorem. Amatur a me judicio tamen meo non obſtat caritas, quæ ex judicio nata eſt. Vir eſt emendatus & gravis: paulo etiam horridior & durior, ut in hac licentia temporum. Quantum eloquentia valeat, pluribus credere putes: nam dicendi facultas aperta & expoſita ſtatim cernitur. Vita hominum altos receſſus magnaſque latebras habet: cujus pro Genitore me ſponſorem accipe. Nihil ex hoc viro filius tuus audiet, niſi profuturum: nihil diſcet, quod neſciſſe rectius fuerit. Nec minus ſæpe ab illo, quàm à te meque autem nebitur quibus imaginibus oneretur, quæ nomina & quanta laſſineat. Proinde, faventibus dis, trade cum præceptori, à quo mores primum, mox eloquentiam diſcat, quæ male ſine moribus diſcitur. Vale.

" licen-

"licentiouſneſs of theſe latter times. As the talent "of ſpeaking is an external advantage, which lies "open and obvious to all the world, you may in point "of eloquence rely upon the teſtimony of the publick "in his favour. It is not ſo with the life and man-"ners of a man, they have their ſecret places, into "which it is ſcarce poſſible to penetrate; and in this "point I will be bound for Genitor. Your ſon will "hear nothing from him, but what may be to his "advantage; nor learn any thing of him, which it "might be better for him not to know. He will be "no leſs careful than you or me, to ſet continually be-"fore his eyes the examples and virtues of his anceſ-"tors, and make him fully ſenſible how heavy a bur-"then their great names lay upon him. Make no "ſcruple therefore to put him into the hands of a "maſter, who will firſt train him up to good morals, "and then to eloquence, which is never well taught "without morality. Farewel."

It is not enough to make choice of a good college. To reap all the benefit from it, that may be expected, the parents muſt often viſit the principal, the regents, and preceptors, to inform themſelves of the behaviour of their children, and the progreſs they make in their ſtudies. They muſt acquaint them with their diſpoſitions and inclinations, which they cannot but know better than any other. They muſt conſult with them upon proper meaſures for correcting their faults, ſupport them with their whole authority, and join with them altogether in caſe of reward, commendation, reprimand or puniſhment. It is not to be expreſſed, how uſeful this good underſtanding of parents with the maſters may be to the children.

[d] Horace, in the beautiful ſatire wherein he expreſſes his grateful acknowledgements for the extraordinary pains his father took in his education, does not fail to obſerve, that he was careful to viſit his maſters often; and he attributes to this in a great meaſure the

[d] Lib. i. Sat. 6.

happineſs he had, of having been not only exempt from the irregularities common to youth, but having eſcaped even the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of them.

*Atqui ſi vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis*
*Mendoſa eſt natura, alioqui recta . . . .*
*Cauſa fuit pater his . . . .*
*Ipſe mihi cuſtos incorruptiſſimus omnes*
*Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum,*
*Qui primus virtutis honos, ſervavit ab omni*
*Non ſolum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.*

It is a fault, * ſays Plutarch, which very much deſerves to be condemned in parents, to think themſelves entirely diſcharged from the care of watching over their children, as ſoon as they are put into the hands of maſters, and not to think any longer of being certified with their own eyes and ears in regard to the progreſs they make in ſtudy and virtue. Beſides that, it ill becomes a father, in a matter of this importance, and wherein he is ſo nearly concerned, blindly to rely upon the integrity of ſtrangers, who amongſt the ancients were generally ſlaves or freedmen; it is certain, adds the ſame author, that a father's care to inform himſelf from time to time, and take an account of his ſon's application and behaviour, may ſerve at the ſame time to make both the ſcholars and the maſters more exact and diligent in the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties. He applies to this ſubject the proverb which ſays, † The maſter's eye makes the horſe fat.

How juſt ſoever this duty is, and eaſy to be diſcharged, it is ſeldom that parents diſcharge it. They ſcarce ever concern themſelves about the behaviour of their children, when they are grown up and have left the college; and the moſt of them ſhew ſuch an indifference and negligence in this point, as is ſcarce to be imagined. A great many excuſe it with a pretence of

* De educ. liberis. † Οὐδὲν ἔτω παιδεύει τὸν ἵππον, ὡς βασιλικὸς ὀφθαλμός.

their

their buſineſs and employment, as if the education of their children was not the moſt important of all, or the character of father was ever to be effaced by that of magiſtrate or miniſter.

Plato obſerves, that it is a very uſual fault with perſons concerned in the government of a ſtate, to neglect the care of their own family; and in a dialogue, intitled *Laches*, he introduces two of the moſt conſiderable men in Athens, complaining that if they had acquired little merit and glory, it was their father's fault, who however diſtinguiſhed by great actions both in peace and war, and entirely devoted to the affairs of others, had taken no care of their education, but had left them to themſelves and their own management, at an age when they had moſt occaſion to be looked over and reſtrained. Would to God that many children had not ſtill cauſe to utter the like complaints!

Cato the Cenſor, tho' taken up with the greateſt affairs of ſtate, engaged in the moſt important employments, and the life of the debates in the ſenate, did not fall into this miſtake, but became himſelf a preceptor to his ſon. Paulus Æmilius, amidſt his great occupations, found time to aſſiſt at the conferences made by his children, and to encourage their ſtudies by his preſence. He was well paid for his pains, and the reputation [s] they acquired was a juſt and grateful reward.

Theſe great men were very far from a fault which is now too common, eſpecially among great men and ſoldiers, who take pains to repeat to their children, that they don't deſign to make doctors of them, and have ſent them only to college to paſs away a few years, till they are old enough to be ſent to the academy, or enter into the ſervice. Such a diſcourſe is capable of rendering the whole fruit of their ſtudies abortive, as it directly tends to ſtifle and extinguiſh all emulation in the mind of the boys; whereas parents ſhould employ all their care in exciting, ſupporting and aug-

[s] The younger Scipio Africanus was one of his children.

menting it; becauſe if their children have a ſenſe of it in their claſſes, they will afterwards carry it into the employments confided to them, and take the like pains to ſucceed and diſtinguiſh themſelves in them.

But to return to the choice of a preceptor. Plutarch in a treatiſe we have of his, concerning the manner of educating children, requires in the maſters an unblameable life, a good underſtanding, great learning, and a capacity for governing, acquired by long experience. But he ſadly complains of the negligence, or rather the ſtupidity of parents, who, in a choice which generally determines the fate and merit of their children for their whole life, take up with the firſt comer, have regard only to the recommendation of perſons little to be relied upon, and guided by a ſordid avarice, regard only the expence in the choice of a preceptor, and think him the beſt, that coſts them leaſt. He tells us a very notable ſaying of Ariſtippus upon this occaſion. A father, ſurprized that he ſhould aſk a thouſand drachmas of him for the inſtruction of his ſon, cried out, Why, I could buy a ſlave for that price. You will have two inſtead of one, replied the philoſopher, thereby inſinuating to this covetous father, that he would make no more than a ſlave of his ſon.

[h] The ſatyrical poet makes the ſame complaints, and cannot bear, that fathers and mothers, whilſt they are at a thouſand fooliſh expences upon their buildings, furniture, equipage, and table, ſhould be ſo very ſparing in the education of their children.

*Hos inter ſumptus ſeſtertia Quintiliano,*
*Ut multum, duo, ſufficient. Res nulla minoris*
*Conſtabit patri quam filius.*

[i] Crates the philoſopher ſaid, that he could wiſh he was upon the top of the moſt eminent place in the city, that he might cry aloud to the citizens, "O ſenſeleſs generation! how fooliſh are ye to think only of

[h] Juvenal. lib. iii. Sat. 7. [i] Plut. de lib. educand. lib. xiv. cap. 55.

"heap-

"heaping up riches, and absolutely to neglect the "education of your children, for whom you pre- "tend to amass it."

[k] Parents pay sometimes very dear for their negligence and avarice, when afterwards they have the grief to see their children abandoned to every kind of vice and disorder, dishonour them a thousand ways, and frequently squander away more money in one year in gratifying their passions, than parents would have spent in ten, in giving them a virtuous and solid education.

No expence therefore must be spared to have a good preceptor; and they must remember, that the noblest and most serviceable use they can make of their money, is to purchase with it men of merit in any kind, and especially in what relates to the instruction of their children. [l] When Seneca would have given back into the hands of Nero the great wealth, which made him envied, the Emperor answered him, that as great as his wealth might seem, there were persons far below Seneca in merit, who possessed a great deal more. I am ashamed, said he to him, to see freedmen richer than you are, and that as you have the highest place in my esteem, you should not be the greatest in my empire. *Pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores spectantur. Unde etiam rubori mihi est, quod præcipuus caritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.* I do not examine whether Nero thought as he spoke, but this is certain, that understanding and reasonable parents should think thus, and be concerned to see a steward, a secretary, and sometimes a porter, get a greater fortune in their service, than the preceptor to the son of the family.

It must be owned, there are parents, though the number of them is very small, who do not want generosity in this point, and not content with paying very good salaries to their childrens tutors, think themselves farther obliged to settle upon them a reasonable

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Tacit. Annal.

revenue for life, ſufficient to enable them to enjoy the fruit of their labours at eaſe and liberty. How ſmall a diminution indeed would an annuity of thirty, fifty, or a hundred piſtoles, more or leſs, according to their different circumſtances, make in the eſtates which ſo many wealthy perſons enjoy? Does it come up to the ſervices whereof it is the reward? I always read with ſingular pleaſure, the admirable diſcourſe of the young Tobias to his father concerning the guide, who had conducted him in his journey, and the particular account he gives of the ſervices he received from him, the greatneſs and number of which he lays down with the ſame exactneſs as if he had been to receive the reward, and not to give it. *O father,* [m] ſaid he to him, *what wages ſhall we give him, that bears any proportion to the benefits he has done unto us? He has brought me again unto thee in perfect ſafety, he went himſelf to receive the money of Gabael, he has made whole my wife, has driven away the Devil from her which tormented her, he has filled her father and mother with joy, he has delivered me from the fiſh that was ready to devour me, he has likewiſe healed thee, and by his means it is that we enjoy all kinds of bleſſings. What then may we give unto him for all he hath done to us? I beg of you, O father, to intreat him that he will be pleaſed to accept of half of all that we have brought.*

What noble ſentiments are here! The young Tobias does not think he does any great matter for his guide by ſo advantageous an offer, but judges that he ſhall receive himſelf a favour wherewith he ſhould be very much honoured, if the guide would think fit to accept of his propoſal. *If he will be pleaſed to accept of half of all thoſe things that we have brought.* Here we have a juſt model for parents; as the deſcription he gives of the ſervices which his guide hade done for him is likewiſe a pattern for tutors, who ſhould ſerve as guardian Angels to their pupils.

[m] Tob. xii. 2, 4.

All

All parents are not in a condition to make the fortune of their childrens tutors; but they are all able, and obliged to honour them, to expreſs conſtantly a great value for them, and to procure them, by their conduct, the eſteem and reſpect of the children and the whole family. He ſhould be looked upon and reſpected as the father himſelf, for this is the idea which the ancients required ſhould be had of a preceptor.

[a] *Dii majorum umbris tenuem & ſine pondere terram . . . . .*
*Qui præceptorem ſancti voluere parentis*
*Eſſe loco.*

Though all parents, even ſuch as can make but ſmall allowances, ſhould be very careful in the choice of a preceptor, they muſt not however be too ſcrupulous upon this point, nor expect to find all the qualifications that can be deſired in a good maſter. There is nothing more extraordinary, than a man who has all theſe virtues united in him. The greateſt lords and princes find a great difficulty in meeting with perſons ſo qualified. People are often obliged to truſt the education of their children with young preceptors, who are without experience, and have not had time to acquire a great deal of learning. But provided they bring with them good diſpoſitions, and do not want underſtanding and judgment, are fond of taking pains, and above all are moral and religious men, the parents ought to be ſatisfied. They muſt only endeavour to make them apply to ſome wiſe and experienced perſon in this way, to conſult upon occaſions, and govern themſelves by his advice. But what in my opinion ſeems abſolutely neceſſary, and parents ſhould never omit, is to begin with putting ſome proper books into the hands of the maſter they ſet over their children, to inſtruct them in a right method of educating them, ſuch as thoſe of M. de Fenelon, Mr. Locke, and ſome others of a like nature. I could

[a] Juvenal, lib. iii, Sat. 7.

wiſh

wiſh that mine might be uſeful to them. I compoſed them at leaſt with that view.

Parents ſhould never omit a powerful means they have in their hands, of drawing down the bleſſing of God upon their children, and that is by contributing more or leſs, in proportion to their circumſtances, to the ſubſiſtence of ſome poor ſcholar, and to help him forward in his learning. I formerly received a like aſſiſtance from the liberality of the late miniſter M. le Peletier. I had the happineſs of being in the ſame claſſes with his [o] children in the college du Pleſſis, and to reap the advantage of the excellent education he gave them. I often diſputed with them for the firſt places and prizes. M. le Peletier rewarded me in the ſame manner as he did them. I may ſay, that during the whole courſe of my ſtudies, he was a kind of father to me, and has ſince expreſſed towards me a truly paternal affection. There is no day paſſes in my life without the remembrance of his good deeds, and my gratitude becomes the ſtronger, as I am every day more ſenſible of the value of a good education.

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of the Duty of Preceptors.*

I HAVE little to add upon this ſubject, after what I have ſaid upon it in the different parts of this treatiſe.

[p] Preceptors are in the place of parents, and muſt therefore adopt their ſentiments, and be kind and tender to the children, but with a kindneſs which muſt not degenerate into indulgence, and an affection di-

[o] The late biſhop of Angers, and M. Peletier the late premier preſident.

[p] Sumat ante omnia parentis erga diſcipulos ſuos animum, ac ſuccedere ſe in eorem locum, à quibus ſibi liberi traduntur exiſtimet. Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 2.

rected

rected by reaſon. Nothing muſt ſeem below them, which parents would do for their children. I thereby mean certain little cares relating to their perſons and health, eſpecially whilſt they are very young or ſick. This care and attention are very pleaſing to parents, and contribute very much to the making them eaſy.

For the ſame reaſon that they ſupply the place of the parents, they muſt not look upon themſelves as abſolute maſters of the children, nor pretend to govern them after their own wills and fancy, without any dependence upon the parents, or without conſulting them in any thing; and even ſometimes forbidding the children, under ſevere puniſhments, to tell them any thing of what paſſes in private. Maſters who act only by reaſon and rule, have no need to impoſe this ſilence and ſecrecy upon their ſcholars, which has ſomething odious and tyrannical in it, and which the parents have juſt cauſe to complain of. By communicating their authority to the maſters, they did not deſign to diveſt themſelves of it. Nothing is more juſt or reaſonable than to conſult with them upon the manner of managing their children, to act wholly in concert with them, to take their advice, enter into their views, and, in a word, to have an entire confidence and openneſs on both ſides, which leaves a liberty of mutually declaring what they judge will be moſt advantageous for the children. I ſuppoſe that the parents are ſuch as they ſhould be, and that they require nothing contrary to a Chriſtian education. If it be otherwiſe, the preceptors, by bearing with patience and condeſcenſion all that may be endured, may proceed with gentle and moderate remonſtrances. When theſe prove uſeleſs, it is their duty to retire, and quit an employment wherein they are not allowed to follow the light of their conſcience, or diſcharge their duty; but they ſhould quit it in a civil manner, without expreſſing any ill humour or breaking with the parents.

What I have ſaid of the good underſtanding between tutors and parents, muſt likewiſe be underſtood with

reference to the principal of a college. When the children are there, it is with him they are chiefly intrusted. It is he, who is charged with the discipline of the college both in publick and private, and it is he who answers for all that passes there. Now without the subordination I am speaking of, he is not in a condition to discharge the essential duties of his place and character.

Amongst the virtues of a good master, vigilance and assiduity are some of the chief. He cannot carry them too far, provided it be without constraint and affectation He is a guardian angel to the children; there is no moment in which he is not charged with their conduct. If his absence or want of care, for they are much alike, gives the enemy, who is continually watching round them, an opportunity of carrying off the precious treasure of their innocence, what will he answer to Jesus Christ, when he demands an account of their souls, and reproaches him with having been less vigilant in taking care of them, than the Devil in destroying them? The misfortune is, that the generality of masters are not often attentive to their obligation upon this point, till they learn it from fatal experience, which they might have prevented by an holy and religious diligence, which constitutes the proper character of every man, who presides over the conduct of others: [q] *He that ruleth*, (let him do it) *with diligence*.

The master's care must extend to the servants, who wait upon the children, and it is not the least of his obligations, though it is generally not known or not minded. As [r] Quintilian observes, we have as much cause to apprehend danger from vicious servants, as from bad companions who have usually better education, and more honour, *nec tutior inter servos malos, quàm ingenuos parùm modestos, conversatio est.* He must be careful therefore never to leave a child alone with the servants, unless he is fully assured of their

[q] Rom. xii. 8. [r] Lib. i. cap. 2.

probity

paobity and piety; for ſuch there are, of whom parents and maſters cannot take too much care.

As children, eſpecially when they are young, are fickle and inconſtant in their diſpoſitions, it is proper that they never ſhould be out of the maſter's ſight, not even whilſt they are at their ſtudies in private. His preſence alone will very much contribute to make them attentive, by fixing their imagination, and ſave them abundance of diſtraction and negligence, from whence ariſe the faults they make in their compoſitions, that afterwards occaſion the chiding and correction, which might have been avoided by the aſſiduous, rather than the troubleſome and preſſing diligence of the maſter. This Quintilian inſinuates by the following words, *aſſiduus ſit potiùs quàm immodicus.*

Aſſiduity muſt not ſeem difficult in the college, where the maſters are abſolutely at liberty during the whole time of the claſſes, which would render them entirely inexcuſable, if they failed in this point: whereas the ſame aſſiduity is very ſevere and a great confinement in private houſes, where the preceptor is obliged to attend his ſcholars all the day long. It is wiſe in the parents, and I may ſay, for their intereſt too, to endeavour as much as poſſible to ſoften this reſtraint, by allowing the maſter every week an afternoon entirely to himſelf, and taking upon themſelves the care of the children during that time. There is no conſtitution that can hold out under ſo continual a confinement. A preceptor ſhould have a time to unbend, to viſit his friends, to keep up his acquaintance, to adviſe with them about his ſtudies, and the difficulties he meets with in the education of his charge; in a word, not to be always confined to his ſcholar. 'Tis not eaſy to expreſs how much this condeſcenſion of the parents encourages the maſters, and renders their zeal more lively and vigilant.

I have already taken notice that a maſter muſt never act by paſſion, humour or fancy. It is one of the greateſt faults in education, as it never eſcapes the diſcerning

cerning eye of the ſcholars, renders all the good qualifications of the maſter almoſt uſeleſs, and deprives his inſtructions and admonitions of almoſt all their authority; and what is yet very grievous, thoſe who act moſt by humour are apt to perceive it leaſt, and often take it ill to be put in mind of it, though it is the beſt office that a friend can do them.

I am aſhamed to mention here certain injurious terms which are ſometimes uſed towards the ſcholars, ſuch as *blockhead*, *beaſt*, *aſs*, &c. Nor would I do it, if I did not know that theſe terms were often in the mouths of ſome maſters. Does ſuch language ariſe from reaſon, good breeding, or good underſtanding? Is it not evident that it muſt be either the effect of a mean education, or of a clowniſh diſpoſition, which knows not what decency is, or of a violent and paſſionate mind that cannot contain itſelf?

Amongſt thoſe who take upon them the education of youth, there are ſeveral, whom their narrow circumſtances, or even ſometimes abſolute poverty have obliged to enter into this profeſſion, and this they muſt not be aſhamed of. The famous Origen taught grammar for a ſubſiſtence, and had the happineſs of preſerving all his life long the remembrance and love of that poverty, wherein his father left him at his death. This is an excellent model for maſters. The ſalary they get for their pains is certainly very lawful, and well deſerved. However I would not have that the only motive, nor even the prevailing one, which engages them to it, but that the will of God, and the deſire of ſanctifying themſelves, ſhould have the firſt and principal ſhare in it. The cruelty of parents often obliges maſters to haggle with them, and diſpute about the terms of their ſalary. It were to be wiſhed, that the generoſity of the parents on one hand, and the diſintereſtedneſs of maſters on the other, might prevent any occaſion for this kind of agreements, which, in my opinion, have ſomething mean and ſordid in them. It might be well for the latter to rely a little more upon

Providence

Providence than they uſually do, and I have never obſerved that it has ever failed thoſe, who have abſolutely confided in it.

If views of intereſt are unworthy a preceptor, that is truly chriſtian, thoſe of vanity and ambition are no leſs ſo. I have often admired what St. Auguſtin ſays of the motive, which engaged Nebrides to take upon him the inſtruction of youth, a motive directly oppoſite to the two faults I am here ſpeaking of. [s] He was St. Auguſtin's intimite friend, and had left his country, his eſtate, and mother, to follow him to Milan, without any other reaſon, than to give himſelf up with his friend, to ſearch after truth and wiſdom, which they both purſued with equal zeal. He could not refuſe, at his inſtant intreaties, to become an aſſiſtant to Verecundus, who taught a ſchool at Milan. It was not, ſays St. Auguſtin, the deſire of gain, which induced Nebrides to take upon him this employment, ſince he might have had a much more profitable one if he had pleaſed; and ſtill leſs was it through any motive of vanity or ambition, as he had always ſhunned the acquaintance of great men, deſiring only the obſcurity of a peaceable retreat, wherein he might give up his whole time to the ſtudy of wiſdom.

This example puts me in mind of another, which is no leſs admirable, and relates to the education of a young gentleman of great quality. [t] The father, full of ambition, thought only of raiſing his ſon to great employments in the ſtate, and the mother, who was a true Chriſtian, of making him great in heaven. She thought ſhe could only ſucceed in her deſires by giving him an holy education, and to this end ſhe propoſed to a monk, whom ſhe had deſired to come to Antioch, to leave his mountain and retirement, and take upon him the care of her ſon. She conjured him to it in ſo earneſt and pathetical a manner, proteſting to him that he ſhould anſwer for the ſoul of that child, that he thought he was under an obligation not to re-

s Conf. lib. vi. c. 10. t S. Chriſ. de vit. monach. lib. ii. c. 14.

fuſe

fuſe it. The ſucceſs anſwered the hopes of the p
mother. The child, inſtructed by his excellent
ceptor, made an extraordinary progreſs in the ſcie
and ſtill more in piety. Gay, civil, affable
obliging to every body, he inſinuated himſelf by
agreeable behaviour into the favour of his cor
nions, which gave him an opportunity of gai
over ſeveral of them, and leading them to emt
virtue. St. Chryſoſtom, who was an eye-witn
this fact, has given us the hiſtory of it, but mo
length than I have here quoted it.

What I gather from theſe two examples, and
which I ſhall end this chapter, is, that piety is the
eſſential and important qualification in a prece
that which ſhould be preferred to all the reſt,
adds an infinite value to them. It inſpires the ma
with an earneſt zeal for the ſcholars, which uſ
draws upon them the bleſſing of heaven. [v] I ha
another place produced an excellent example of
zeal in the perſon of St. Auguſtin, which may
as an inſtruction and model to all Chriſtian maſt

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Duty of Scholars.*

QUintilian ſays [w], that he has included almo
the duty of ſcholars in this one piece of ad
which he gives them, to love thoſe who teach the
they love the ſciences which they learn of them,
to look upon them as fathers, from whom they d
not the life of the body, but that inſtruction whi

[v] Vol. I. Prelim. Diſ. p. 71.

[w] Plura de officiis docentium locutus, diſcipulos id unum interim moneo, ut præceptores ſuos non minùs quàm ipſa ſtudia ame parentes eſſe, non quidem rum, ſed mentium credant. til. lib. ii. cap. 9.

in a manner the life of the ſoul. Indeed this ſentiment of affection and reſpect ſuffices to make them apt to learn during the time of their ſtudies, and full of gratitude all the reſt of their lives. It ſeems to me to include a great part of what is to be expected from them.

[x] Docility, which conſiſts in ſubmitting to direction, in readily receiving the inſtructions of their maſters, and reducing them to practice, is properly the virtue of ſcholars, as that of maſters is to teach well. The one can do nothing without the other; and as it is not ſufficient for a labourer to ſow the ſeed, unleſs the earth, after having opened its boſom to receive it, in a manner hatches, warms and moiſtens it; ſo likewiſe the whole fruit of inſtruction depends upon a good correſpondence between the maſters and the ſcholars.

Gratitude for thoſe who have laboured in our education, is the character of an honeſt man, and the mark of a good heart. Who is there among us [y], ſays Cicero, that has been inſtructed with any care, that is not highly delighted with the ſight, or even the bare remembrance of his preceptors, maſters, and the place where he was taught and brought up? [z] Seneca exhorts young men to preſerve always a great reſpect for their maſters, to whoſe care they are indebted for the amendment of their faults, and for having imbibed ſentiments of honour and probity. [a] Their exactneſs

[x] Ut magiſtrorum officium eſt, docere: ſic, diſcipulorum, præbere ſe dociles: alioqui neutrum ſine altero ſufficiet. Et, ſicut fruſtra ſparſeris ſemina, niſi illa præmollitus foverit ſulcus: ita eloquentia conſcendere nequit, niſi ſociata tradentis accipientiſque concordiâ. Quintil. ibid.

[y] Qui's eſt noſtrûm liberaliter educatus, cui non cognatus, cui non magiſter ſuus atque doctor, cui non locus ille motus ubi ipſe alius aut doctus eſt, cum gratâ recordatione in mente verſetur? Cic. pro Planc. n. 81.

[z] Præceptores ſuos adoleſcens veneretur ac ſuſpiciat, quorum beneficio ſe vitiis exuit, & ſub quorum tutela poſitus exercet bonas artes. Senec. Epiſt. 83.

[a] Tamdiu illos odio habemus, quamdiu graves judicamus, & quamdiu beneficia illorum non intelligimus. Cùm jam ætas aliquid prudentiæ collegit, apparet propter illa ipſa amari à nobis debere, propter quæ non amabantur; admonitiones, ſeveritatem, & inconſultæ adoleſcentiæ cuſtodiam. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 5.

and

and ſeverity diſpleaſe ſometimes at an age, when we are not in a condition to judge of the obligations we owe to them; but when years have ripened our understanding and judgment, we then diſcern that what made us diſlike them, I mean admonitions, reprimands, and a ſevere exactneſs in reſtraining the paſſions of an imprudent and inconſiderate age, is expreſly the very thing which ſhould make us eſteem and love them. [b] Thus we ſee that Marcus Aurelius, one of the wiſeſt and moſt illuſtrious Emperors that Rome ever had, thanked the Gods for two things, eſpecially for his having had excellent tutors himſelf, and that he had found the like for his children.

Quintilian, after having noted the different characters of the mind in children, draws in a few words the image of what he judged to be a perfect ſcholar, and certainly it is a very amiable one. "For "my part, ſays he, I like a child who is encouraged "by commendation, is animated by a ſenſe of glory, "and weeps when he is outdone. A noble emula- "tion will always keep him in exerciſe; a reprimand "will touch him to the quick, and honour will "ſerve inſtead of a ſpur. We need not fear that "ſuch a ſcholar will ever give himſelf up to idleneſs." *Mihi ille detur puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui victus fleat. Hic erit alendus ambitu: hunc mordebit objurgatio: hunc honor excitabit: in hoc deſidiam nunquam verebor.*

How great a value ſoever Quintilan ſets upon the talents of the mind, he eſteems thoſe of the heart far beyond them, and looks upon the others as of no value without theſe. In the ſame chapter, from whence I took the preceding words, he declares he ſhould never have a good opinion of a child, who placed his ſtudy in occaſioning laughter, mimicking the behaviour, mien, and faults of others, and he preſently gives an admirable reaſon for it. "A child, "ſays he, cannot be truly ingenious, in my opinion,

[b] M. Aurel. lib. i. §. 17.

"unleſs

" unleſs he be good and virtuous; otherwiſe I ſhould " rather chuſe to have him dull and heavy, than of " a bad diſpoſition." *Non dabit mihi ſpem bonæ indolis, qui hoc imitandi ſtudio petet, ut rideatur. Nam probus quoque inprimis erit ille verè ingenioſus: alioqui non pejus duxerim, tardi eſſe ingenii, quàm mali.*

He diſplays to us all theſe talents in the eldeſt of his two children, whoſe character he draws, and whoſe death he laments in ſo eloquent and pathetick a ſtrain, in the beautiful preface to his ſixth book. I ſhall beg leave to inſert here a ſmall extract of it, which will not be uſeleſs to the boys, as they will find it a model which ſuits well with their age and condition.

After having mentioned his younger ſon, who died at five years old, and deſcribed the graces and beauties of his countenance, the prettineſs of his expreſſions, the vivacity of his underſtanding, which began to ſhine through the veil of childhood; " I had ſtill " left me, [c] ſays he, my ſon Quintilian, in whom I " placed all my pleaſure and all my hopes, and com- " fort enough I might have found in him. For hav- " ing now entered into his tenth year, he did not " produce only bloſſoms like his younger brother, but " fruits already formed, and beyond the power of diſ- " appointment. . . . . I have much experience, but " I never ſaw in any child, I do not ſay only ſo many " excellent diſpoſitions for the ſciences, nor ſo much " taſte and inclination for ſtudy, as his maſters know, " but ſo much probity, ſweetneſs, good nature, gen- " tleneſs and inclination to pleaſe and oblige, as I " diſcerned in him.

[d] " Beſides this, he had all the advantages of na- " ture,

c Una poſt hæc Quintiliani mei ſpe ac voluptate nitebar: & poterat ſufficere ſolatio. Non enim floſculos, ſicut prior, ſed, jam decimum ætatis ingreſſus annum, certos atque deformatos fructus oſtenderat. Juro . . . . . has me in illo vidiſſe virtutes ingenii non modò ad percipiendas diſciplinas, quo nihil præſtantius cognovi plurima expertus, ſtudiique jam tum non coacti, (ſciunt præceptores) ſed probitatis, pietatis, humanitatis, liberalitatis . . . .

d Etiam illa fortuita aderant omnia, vocis jucunditas claritaſ-

que,

"ture, a charming voice, a pleaſing countenance, "and a ſurprizing facility in pronouncing well the "two languages, as if he had been equally born for "both of them.

"[e] But all this was no more than hopes. I ſet a "greater value upon his admirable virtues, his equa- "lity of temper, his reſolution, the courage with "which he bore up againſt fear and pain. For how "were his phyſicians aſtoniſhed at his patience under "a diſtemper of eight months continuance, when at "the point of death he comforted me himſelf, and "bad me not to weep for him! and, delirious as he "ſometimes was, at his laſt moments his tongue ran "of nothing elſe but learning and the ſciences: O "vain and deceitful hopes! *&c.*"

Are there many boys amongſt us, of whom we can truly ſay ſo much to their advantage, as Quintilian ſays here of his ſon? What a ſhame would it be for them, if born and brought up in a Chriſtian country, they had not even the virtues of Pagan children! I make no ſcruple to repeat them here again, docility, obedience, reſpect for their maſters, or rather a degree of affection, and the ſource of an eternal gratitude, zeal for ſtudy, and a wonderful thirſt after the ſciences, joined to an abhorrence of vice and irregularity, an admirable fund of probity, goodneſs, gentleneſs, civility and liberality; as alſo patience, courage and greatneſs of ſoul in the courſe of a long ſickneſs. What then was wanting to all theſe virtues? That which alone could render them truly worthy the name, and muſt be in a manner the ſoul of them, and conſtitute their whole value, the precious gift of faith and piety, the ſaving knowledge of a Mediator, a ſincere deſire

que, oris ſuavitas, & in utracunque lingua, tanquam ad eam demum natus eſſet, expreſſa proprietas omnium literarum.

[e] Sed hæc ſpes adhuc. Illa majora: conſtantia, gravitas, contra dolores etiam ac metus robur. Nam quo ille animo, qua medicorum admiratione, menſium octo valetudinem tulit! Ut me in ſupremis conſolatus eſt! Quàm, etiam deficiens, jamque non noſter, ipſum illum alienatæ mentis errorem circa ſolas literas non habuit!

of

of pleaſing God, and referring all our actions to him.

It is this which infinitely exalts every other talent in Chriſtian children, and alone deſerves to be propoſed to them as a perfect model, worthy of their whole imitation. They may find it in two illuſtrious ſaints, whoſe knowledge and virtue have done ſo much honour to the church. I mean St. Baſil and St. Gregory Nazianzen.

They were both deſcended of very noble families in the eye of the world, and ſtill more ſo in the eyes of God. They were born almoſt at the ſame time, and their birth was the fruit of the prayers and piety of their mothers, who from that very moment devoted them to God, from whom they had received them. The mother of St. Gregory, preſenting him to him in the church, ſanctified his hands by the ſacred books ſhe made him touch.

They had both of them all the qualifications that make children amiable, beauty of perſon, charms of mind, and mildneſs and politeneſs of manners.

Their education was ſuch, as may be imagined in families, where piety, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, was hereditary and domeſtick; and where fathers, mothers, brothers, ſiſters and grandfathers on both ſides, were all of them ſaints, and moſt of them very eminent ones.

The happy diſpoſition, which God had given them, was cultivated with all poſſible care. After they had finiſhed their ſtudies at home, they were ſent ſeparately into the cities of Greece which were of greateſt reputation for learning, and put under the tuition of the moſt excellent maſters.

At laſt they met again at Athens. We know that this city was in a manner the theatre and centre of polite learning and all erudition. It was likewiſe in a manner the cradle of the famous friendſhip which ſubſiſted between our two Saints, or at leaſt it ſerved very much to tie the knot of it in a ſtraiter manner.

A very extraordinary adventure gave occaſion to it. There was an odd cuſtom at Athens relating to ſuch ſcholars as were new-comers, that were ſent thither from different provinces. The began with introducing them into a numerous aſſembly of youth like themſelves, and there they expoſed them to all imaginary raillery and inſolence, after which they led them croſs the city in proceſſion, conducted and preceded by all the boys, who marched two by two before them. When they came to the place appointed, the whole company ſtopt, ſet up a loud cry, and made as if they would break open the gates, and they were refuſed to be opened to them. When the novice had been admitted there, he was then reſtored to his liberty. Gregory, who came firſt to Athens, and ſaw how oppoſite this ridiculous ceremony was to the grave and ſerious character of Baſil, and how diſagreeable it would be to him, had credit enough among his companions to get it diſpenſed with. It was this, [f] ſays St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the admirable account he gives of this adventure, which gave occaſion to our ſacred friendſhip, which began to kindle in us that flame which has never ſince been extinguiſhed, and which pierced our hearts with a dart, that is fixed there for ever. Happy Athens, cries he out, thou ſource of all my felicity! I went thither only to acquire knowledge, and I found there the moſt precious of all my treaſures, an affectionate and faithful friend; happier in this than Saul, who ſeeking but for aſſes found a kingdom.

This relation, formed and begun, as I have now mentioned, grew every day ſtronger and ſtronger, eſpecially when theſe two friends, who kept nothing a ſecret from each other, mutually laying open their hearts, diſcerned they had both the ſame end, and ſought for the ſame treaſure, this is to ſay, wiſdom and virtue. They lived under the ſame roof, eat at the ſame table, had the ſame exerciſes and pleaſures,

f Τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς φιλίας πρωτοβόλον. Ἐκεῖ· οὕτως ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτρώθημεν, ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῆς συναφείας σπινθὴρ.

and

and were properly ſpeaking but one and the ſame ſoul; a marvellous union, ſays St. Gregory, which cannot be really produced by any other than a chaſte and Chriſtian friendſhip.

We both alike aſpire to knowledge, an object the moſt capable of raiſing ſentiments of envy and jealouſy, and yet we were abſolutely exempt from that ſubtil and malicious paſſion, and experienced no other than a noble emulation. Each of us had a higher ſenſe of the glory of his friend than of his own, and ſought not to gain the ſuperiority over him, but to yield to him and imitate him.

Our principal ſtudy and only end was virtue. We ſtrove to render our friendſhip eternal by preparing ourſelves for a bleſſed immortality, by withdrawing our affection more and more from the things of this world. We took the word of God for our conductor and guide. We ſerved as maſters and overſeers to ourſelves, by mutually exhorting one another to the practice of piety; and I might ſay, if there was not ſome kind of vanity in the expreſſion, that we were a kind of rule to each other, whereby to diſcern falſhood from truth, and good from evil.

We had no converſation with ſuch of our companions, as were ſaucy, paſſionate, or immoral, and kept company only with ſuch, as by their modeſty, circumſpection and wiſdom might aſſiſt and ſupport us in the good deſigns we had formed; knowing that bad examples, like contagious diſtempers, are eaſily communicated.

Theſe two Saints, as we cannot too often repeat to youth, were always diſtinguiſhed among their companions by the beauty and livelineſs of their wit, by their diligence and labour, by the extraordinary ſucceſs they had in all their ſtudies, by the eaſe and readineſs with which they acquired all the ſciences taught at Athens; polite learning, poetry, eloquence and philoſophy. But they were ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by the innocence of their manners, which was alarmed at

in ſight of the leaſt danger, and afraid of even the ſhadow of vice. A dream, which St. Gregory had, when he was very young, of which he has left us an elegant deſcription in verſe, very much contributed to inſpire him with theſe ſentiments. As he ſlept, he thought he ſaw two virgins of the ſame age, and of equal beauty, cloathed in a modeſt manner, and without any of thoſe ornaments, which ladies uſually are fond of. Their eyes were fixed upon the ground, and their countenance covered with a veil, which did not hinder him from diſcerning the bluſh which a maiden ſhame ſpreads over their cheeks ε. The ſight of them, adds the Saint, filled me with joy, for they ſeemed to have ſomething in them more than human. They took me in their arms and careſs'd me as a child, whom they dearly loved, and when I aſked them who they were, the one told me ſhe was * *Purity*, and the other † *Continence*; but both the companions of Jeſus Chriſt, and the friends of thoſe who renounced marriage to lead an heavenly life. They exhorted me to join my heart and mind to theirs, that being filled with the glory of virginity, they might preſent me before the light of the immortal Trinity. After theſe words they flew up to heaven, and my eyes followed them as far as they could.

All this indeed was but a dream, but had a very real effect upon the heart of the Saint. He never forgot the agreeable image of chaſtity, and reflected upon it with pleaſure in his mind. It was, as he ſays himſelf, a ſpark of fire, which increaſing by degrees, inkindled in him the love of a perfect continence.

Baſil and he had great need of ſuch a virtue to defend themſelves amidſt the perils of Athens, the moſt dangerous city in the world in point of morals, in

ε Κρυδίμνιν δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήατα ἠδὲ παρείας
Κρυφάμεναι, κατὰ γῆς ἰταὶν' ὄμματ' ἔχον·
Αἰδὼς ἀμφοτέρησιν ἐπίτροπος καλὸν ἐρυθὸς,
Ὅσσον ἀνιήτην φαίνεθ' ὑπ' ἐκ φάεων.

* Ἀγνεία. † Σωφροσύνη.

conſe-

A gentleman who recently traveled over a Western railroad, declared that it is the safest road in the country, as the superintendent keeps a boy running ahead of the train to drive off the [illegible]

conſequence of the vaſt concourſe of youth which came thither from all parts, and brought with them their vices and irregularities. But, ſays St. Gregory, we had the happineſs of experiencing in that corrupt city ſomething like what the poets tell, of a river, which preſerves the ſweetneſs of its waters amidſt the ſaltneſs of the ſea, and of an animal which ſubſiſts in the midſt of fire. We had no converſation or friendſhip with the bad, we knew but two ways in Athens, the one which led us to the church and the holy divines who taught there, and the other which led us to the ſchools and our maſters in learning. As to entertainments, ſpectacles, aſſemblies and feſtivals, we were abſolutely ignorant of them.

One might naturely imagine, that youths of this character, who ſeparated themſelves from all ſociety, who had no ſhare in any of the pleaſures and diverſions of thoſe of their own age, whoſe pure and innocent lives were a continual cenſure of the irregularity of the reſt, muſt have been the mark of all their companions, and the object of their hatred, or at leaſt of their contempt and raillery. But it was quite the contrary; and nothing is more glorious to the memory of theſe two illuſtrious Saints, and I venture to ſay, reflects more honour upon pietyit ſelf, than ſuch an event. Their virtue indeed muſt have been very pure, and their conduct very wiſe and diſcreet, to have not only the envy and hatred, but to have gained in general the eſteem, love and reſpect of all their companions.

This was ſeen in an eminent manner, when it was reported, that they deſigned to leave Athens to return into their own country. The grief was univerſal, cries and lamentations were heard on all ſides, and tears flowed from every eye. They were about to loſe the honour of their city and glory of their ſchools. The maſters and ſcholars, adding force and violence to prayers and complaints, proteſted they would not let them go, nor ever conſent to their departure. One

of

of them could not help yielding to this extraordinary ſolicitation, which might rather be called a conſpiracy to detain him. This was Gregory; and one may eaſily judge how much he was concerned at it.

I queſtion whether it is poſſible to imagine a more perfect model for the boys, than that which I have now laid before their eyes, where we find all the circumſtances united, that can render youth amiable and valuable, noble blood, beauty of mind, an incredible ardour for ſtudy, wonderful ſucceſs in all the ſciences, polite and noble manners, a ſurprizing modeſty amidſt publick praiſes and applauſes, and what infinitely ſets off all theſe qualifications, a piety and fear of God, which ill examples only improved and confirmed. We may read an admirable character of theſe two great Saints in M. du Guet's letters expreſly drawn up for the uſe of the ſcholars, who were to anſwer upon ſome of their diſcourſes.

Beſides the example of ſome illuſtrious Chriſtian Saints, ſuch as the two I have mentioned, it may be proper for the boys to take a view of thoſe that are to be found in holy ſcripture. They will there find the young Samuel by his piety and virtue alike agreeable to God and men. [h] *And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the Lord and alſo with men.* They will there admire an holy King, who at eight years old, following the example of David, was ever careful to pleaſe God in all that he did. [i] *And he did that which was right in the ſight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father.* They will there ſee Tobit, after he had paſſed his youth in innocence, avoiding the company of ſuch as ſacrificed unto the golden calves, ſhewing nothing childiſh in his behaviour, and keeping with all exactneſs the injunctions of the law from his infancy. [k] *Solus fugiebat conſortia omnium.... Nihil puerile geſſit in opere.... Hæc & his ſimilia ſecundum legem Dei puerulus obſervabat.* They will ſee him, I ſay, edu-

[h] 1 Sam. ii. 26. [i] 1 Kings xxii. 2. [k] Tob. i.

cating

cating his ſon in the ſame manner, by inſtructing him in his infancy to fear God, and abſtain from every ſin. *Quem ab infantiâ timere Deum docuit, & abſtinere ab omni peccato.* They will be ſurprized to find, long before Chriſtianity, a courage truly heroical and chriſtian, in the ſeven brethren of the Maccabees, who were all determined to die by the moſt cruel puniſhments rather than tranſgreſs the law of God. [1] *We are ready to die, rather than to tranſgreſs the laws of our fathers.*

But they muſt principally imbibe their ſentiments from the very fountain of holineſs and piety, that is, from Jeſus Chriſt, who, to ſanctify childhood and youth, was pleaſed to be born a child, and afterward to ſet an example to all perſons of the ſeveral virtues which properly belong to them, by his exactneſs in going up to the temple at the appointed times; by his diligence in hearing the doctors; by the wiſdom and modeſty of his anſwers; his application to do the work of his Father, and execute his orders without conſulting with fleſh or blood; by his perfect ſubmiſſion to his parents; and, laſtly, by the care he took of outwardly ſhewing before God and men, in proportion as he advanced in years, a viſible progreſs of grace and wiſdom, the fulneſs of which he had received from the firſt moment of his incarnation.

## *The concluſion of this work.*

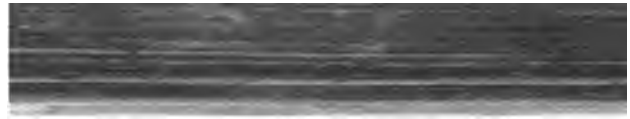
I am now come to the end of my work, which I undertook with a view to ſerve the publick, and to be of ſome aſſiſtance if I could to youth, and thoſe who are entruſted with their education. It was not my deſign to ſay any thing which might in the leaſt offend any of my brethren, or any perſon whatſoever. If however this has happened without my intention or knowledge, I deſire they would excuſe it, and take in good part what has fallen from me without any bad deſign.

[1] 2 Macc. vii. 2.

All

All that now remains is to beg of God, who is the only maſter of mankind, the author of all light and of every excellent gift, who diſpenſes talents as he pleaſes, and inſpires us with the manner of making good uſe of them; to whom alone it belongs to ſpeak to the heart as well as to the underſtanding; to beſeech him, I ſay, that he would be pleaſed to give a bleſſing to this work, to the author, the children, the parents, the maſters and ſervants, in a word, to all who have any care in the education of youth, in any place or any college whatſoever; and particularly that he would be pleaſed to pour down abundantly his grace upon the univerſity of Paris, that he would continue to preſerve and increaſe, not only the taſte of learning, and the ſciences which has always flouriſhed in it, but ſtill more that diſpoſition to piety and religion, which has hitherto been its moſt ſolid glory. Amen.

THE END.

## OUR PROPENSITIES.

That man is prone to do evil no one will deny, but that all his powers of both body and mind are completely vitiated we do not believe. If we should paint man as he is, the picture would be gloomy yet there are many bright lines in his character; were this not the case, the gloom of the present would overshadow the future, and leave us to mourn in hopeless sorrow. But there is a spark of goodness in every human bosom, it is a plant of another clime, and is rooted in the soil of eternity—it will bud and blossom and bear fruit beneath the shining of a brighter sun than morals ever yet gazed upon. This plant in order to reap any benefit from it here needs our culture; if we cherish it, it will repay us a hundred fold. The more we practice virtue the greater will be the reward, and God will mete out to us honor and happiness both in this life and the life to come. But let him who indulges in vice, who follows the promptings of his evil propensities, beware and tremble, for rapid is the progress of evil, and it leads directly to the abodes of infamy. As the stone from the mountain's brow rolls with accelerated force till it bounds into the chasm below, while the circles lessen and settle around, as it sinks into the deep, so does vice from virtue, fall headlong darkly with accelerated impetus, till it makes the tremendous leap and the wavelets of eternal oblivion and infamy gather above it.